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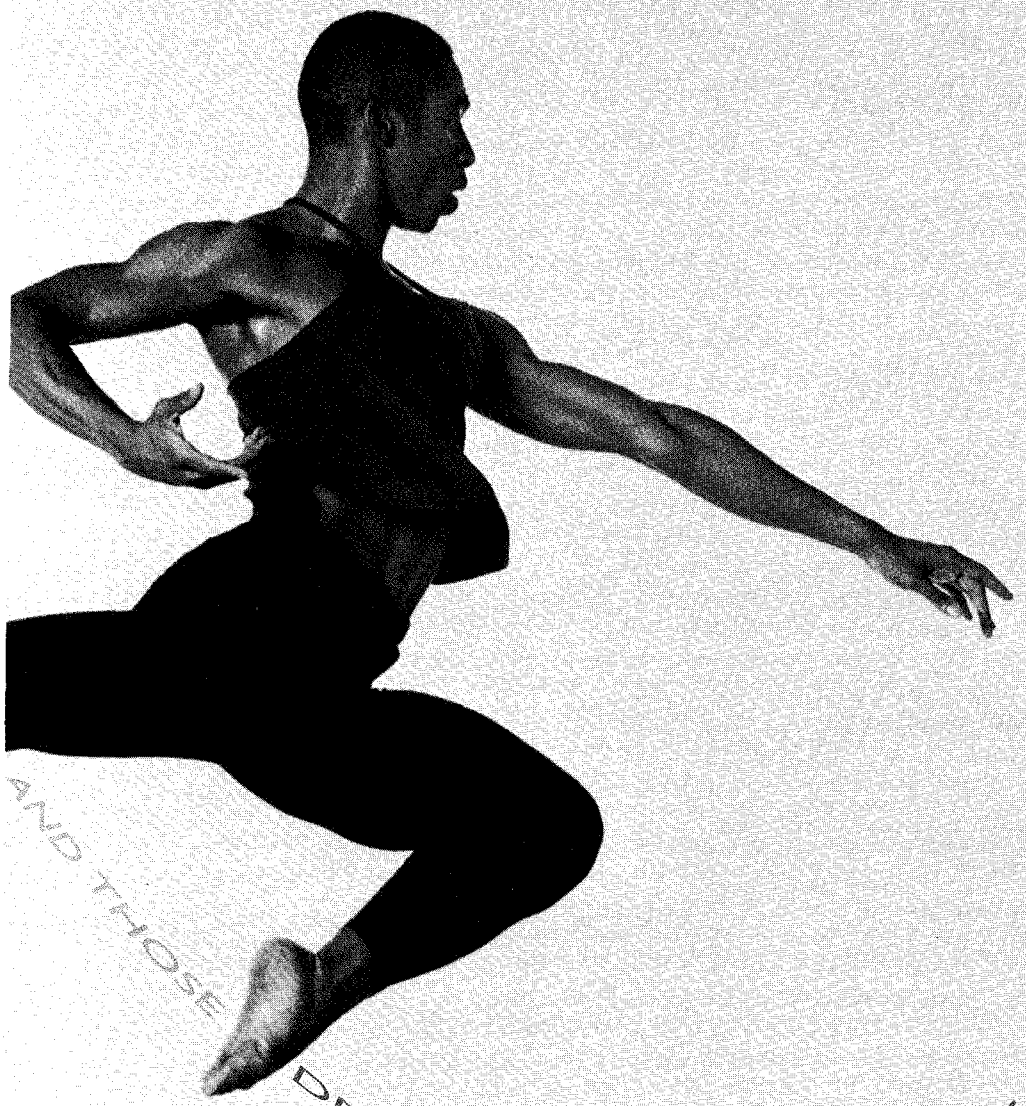

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NATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL 1, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 5

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LETTERS

Profiles in Courage

Historians writing of the 1960s will recall an American President failing to order necessary air support for the defenseless soldiers fighting on the beaches of their beloved homeland, while the American news media stood in silence. But, more importantly, [cf. "Into Battle," "The Week," Feb. 11] historians writing of the 1980s will recall an American President standing bravely before a hostile, doubting American news media as he moved the world.

Ronald M. Backus
Sewickley, Pa.

The Constitution Revisited

The article by Gordon Crovitz ["How Law Destroys Order," Feb. 11] does credit not only to NATIONAL REVIEW, but also to Yale Law School, where the author developed his talent.

The *American Bar Association Journal*, where this article might once have appeared, through much of its February issue eulogizes Justice William Brennan, the venerable author of much of our current law, as a "charismatic," the "architect of the Bill of Rights who reshaped many of our nation's individual rights." A sentence confirms Crovitz's assertion: "Even if the Court goes back in some areas in saying that these decisions or practices [of Justice Brennan] are not constitutionally mandated, as a matter of running the country, terse pronouncements will be irrelevant, because the national legal mores will have ascended above the constitutional minimum."

Translated, this appears to read: Forget the Constitution (which says that all legislative power is in the Congress). We rise above all that to what we know is best for the people. Another heading advises us that Justice Brennan led in the "separation of church from government" because religion is emotional. It is not rational, as are those, like the Justice, who are devoted to enlightened reason. In these eulogies of Justice Brennan, the Declaration of 1776, which precedes the Constitution of 1787 and deals with "unalienable rights," is ignored. It placed the legal basis of this nation upon the laws of nature's God, complementing the laws of nature. "The law must change with the times," the Brennan disciples reply.

John W. Brabner-Smith
Washington, D.C.

A Laughing Matter

As W. C. Fields might have put it, I chortled with glee at Professor of Law David Lange's "defense" of Stanley Fish and his embarrassing brush with the National Association of Scholars at Duke ["Letters," Feb. 25].

True, I was at first irritated by Lange's strident attack on Jeffrey Hart and then I was outraged by his imputation that the NAS is contemptible because many "senior" professors may be members. But finally I discerned his real purpose when he explained that Fish "was merely advancing an opinion couched in the inflammatory rhetoric of our time" and then derided Hart for assuming that Fish, a modish professor, would be using that language in an outmoded "1950s style"—i.e., as a way of communicating responsible opinions.

What I realized was that Professor Lange has slyly put on the persona of the Politically Correct Professor and produced an amusing parody of the PCP's characteristic self-righteousness and contempt for language, meaning, and truth. Professor Hart doesn't seem to detect the satire, I admit, but to take any other view of it would be to suggest that the Department of English is not the only branch of Duke University in trouble.

R. D. Stock
Professor of English
University of Nebraska at Lincoln
Lincoln, Neb.

Car Trouble

Tucker Goodrich complains that Chrysler is still building cars on the K-car platform while other manufacturers come out with a completely new car every three years or so ["Iacocca Broke," Dec. 3]. Actually, GM and Ford have platforms about the same age.

There is evidence that Chrysler's engineering is quite good. Chrysler hasn't had the high percentage of safety-related recalls that GM has had. Insurance-company tests have revealed that Chrysler cars sustain less costly damage in crash tests than the competition. Chrysler's new four-speed automatic transmission has fewer parts and electronic controls. After seven years of trying, nobody has made a better mini-van than Chrysler.

Chrysler meets federal fleet mileage requirements that GM and Ford have never met. Indeed, GM owed the Federal Government $400 million in fines, and the amount would have grown to over $1 billion if the Reagan Administration had not changed the law.

Why don't we hear from writers like Mr. Goodrich when GM has problems? Right now, it is inundated with ballpoint failures on its new pickups. Some trucks have already had them replaced three times. Wheels have fallen off. Dealers can't get enough parts for all the trucks that need repairing. If Chrysler had the problem, it would be discussed at length on the evening news.

William R. Sundling
Gladstone, Mich.

I was criticizing a failed industrial policy, not merely Chrysler, and I did mention that the other American makers have similar problems. There is also evidence that Chrysler's engineering is quite bad: Consumer Reports *tested its new four-speed transmission and recommended against buying any vehicles that use it. Mr. Sundling insists that no one makes a better mini-van. Toyota's Previa is popular and well made; Chrysler's falling mini-van sales reflect that.* —TG

Risen and Heard

In "Rush from Judgment" ["The Week," Feb. 11] you state, "While there is no national organization to speak for the fifty million evangelical Protestants, there is every reason to believe that most of them accepted, however reluctantly, the necessity of military force."

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) has had a public-affairs office here in Washington since 1943, and its duty is to speak for its evangelical membership. Currently, NAE is an association of fifty thousand churches, with six million members from 78 denominations.

While we do not have a formal resolution on this specific war, the director of our Office of Public Affairs, Bob Dugan, has stated publicly the evangelical view of these matters. These sentiments generally accord with your own guess about evangelicals' reluctant acceptance of "the necessity of military force."

Tim Crater
Special Representative
National Association of Evangelicals
Washington, D.C.

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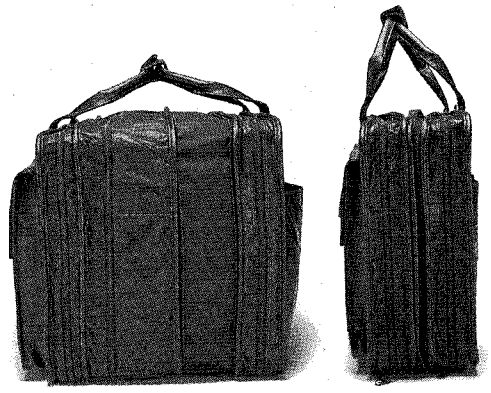

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FROM THE EDITOR

Not Yet Ozymandias

■ NATIONAL REVIEW argued from the first that the Gulf War was justified, necessary, and winnable. Still, we never expected the victory to be quite so overwhelming.

So it may seem churlish to complain that one important war aim has yet to be achieved. Saddam Hussein remains in power. Does the U.S., indeed, still seek his removal, let alone his trial for war crimes? A diplomatic silence has descended on policy toward Iraq.

If the State Department calculates that a weakened Saddam in power would be the best result in an unsatisfactory world, as speculation has it, that would be a serious error.

What are the supposed justifications for this policy? That a Shi'ite government in Iraq would be a dependency of Iran? But the divisions between Iranian and Arab are at least as deep as those between Shi'i and Sunni Islam. That a Shi'ite Iraq would be a threat to Gulf states with large Shi'ite populations? But Iraq is now militarily weak. That Saddam's removal would produce a descent into Lebanese chaos? But there is a civil war in Iraq with Saddam in Baghdad.

If Saddam consolidates his power, he is more likely than any potential successor to create trouble. He would be bent on recovery and revenge. His very survival would win him some Arab support. And he would soon repair his ideological links with the Soviet Union and so his armaments.

No one who wins power in Baghdad will bear much resemblance to a Jeffersonian democrat. But he is more likely to refrain from aggression if Saddam Hussein has shown its consequences by perishing miserably.

■ In the current *Time* magazine, Strobe Talbott makes the point that war is unlikely to bring democracy to any country in the Gulf region. Classical Moslem thought has little sympathy with elections and parliaments.

That is true enough. And anti–Gulf War writers from Edward Luttwak to Pat Buchanan, have gone further, to argue that Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were repressive regimes unworthy of support, Mr. Luttwak even claiming that Saudi Arabia had a more oppressive regime than Iraq.

Drawing on my full reserves of expertise accumulated on a ten-day visit to the Kingdom, I would argue that the Saudi government is less repressive than the Saudi people.

If liberalism is to be found anywhere in the Kingdom, it is among the educated elites who move eerily between Western and Islamic styles of life and thought without missing a beat. But Saudi society lower down is permeated with an especially puritanical version of Islam. What outsiders see as a "crackdown" is often the royal family soothing the fundamentalist resentments of its people.

If the Saudi monarchy wished to be a liberal bicycling monarchy on the Scandinavian model, devoted to free speech, avid for women's rights, tolerant of pornography, it really would have to be repressive. For its subjects would rise in rebellion at its impiety.

As the late Shah of Iran said: "I will behave like the King of Sweden when my subjects behave like Swedes." Ironically, the Shah, in deference to President Carter, did imitate the King of Sweden—only to discover that his subjects remained thoroughly Iranian. The Saudi monarchy, having seen the consequences of his error, is unlikely to repeat it.

■ Some regular features, notably the "Help!!" spread, are missing from the current issue. I point this out because, if I did not do so, a number of readers would point it out to me in angry letters. Hell hath no fury like a woman deprived of the "Trans-O-Gram."

My apologies to those whose favorite feature is unavailable. But they may rest easy. We omit these features only in the aftermath of a great U.S. military victory. Any complaints?

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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ON THE RECORD

■ The Left is nearly as devastated as **Saddam Hussein** by stunning conclusion of Gulf War. Berkeley radical Congressman **Ron Dellums** told an **Abraham Lincoln** Brigade dinner that he has "a heavy heart." He feels it will take "a lifetime" for the United States to atone for its "inestimable tragedy" in Gulf. . . . Left-wing commentator **Alexander Cockburn** lamented not only that fighting would be done to a "disproportionate degree by people pressed into the military by economic hardship," but also that they would be condemned to use "weapons badly made by manufacturers colluding with the Defense Department in the padded invoice and the faked test." . . . **Angela Sanbrano**, co-chairman of SANE/Freeze, finds it grossly unfair that the "speed with which the Administration was able to conduct the war made it impossible for the movement to halt it." . . . Both National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East and far-out National Coalition against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East had called for massive antiwar demonstrations April 6. The Campaign may call off its effort, but Coalition staffer **Gavrielle Gemma** says the Coalition and other international peace groups will now organize a war-crimes tribunal to bring, not Saddam Hussein and his torturers, but **George Bush** and his Administration to bar of international justice. . . . Black activist minister **Lucius Walker** had it all figured out a month ago. "If the war fails, the responsibility will fall on Powell [**Colin Powell**, the black chairman of the Joint Chiefs]. If the war succeeds, the credit will go to Defense Secretary **Dick Cheney**." . . . Why were dire predictions of what would happen in the Persian Gulf so far off mark? One Pentagon general, who asked not to be identified, thinks he knows: "If you had been reading press accounts of the American military for the past ten years, you would come away with the impression that we're the gang that couldn't shoot straight with weapons that don't work."

■ Political fallout from Gulf War: No Democrat looks good for 1992, not those in Congress who opposed Bush (**Nunn**, **Bradley**, **Gephardt**); not Gov. **Cuomo**, with New York's economy in a shambles; not even **Al Gore**, who was mealy-mouthed in his support of Bush. **Tony Coelho**, former House Majority Whip and a canny politician (who resigned from Congress just ahead of the sheriff), put his finger on it. Democratic leaders, he said, "are looking for somebody who can run a *credible race* in 1992, take advantage of a negative *if it exists*, but can run again in '96" against someone other than Bush. . . . Result: **George McGovern**, out of politics for nearly twenty years, is making presidential noises, as is former Sen. **Paul Tsongas** of Massachusetts, who resigned from Senate seven years ago. Comments one GOP political analyst: "What the Democrats need is another Greek-American presidential candidate from Massachusetts." . . . Could be important: Massachusetts congressional by-election in the 1st CD to replace the late **Silvio Conte**, the only Republican in Massachusetts's congressional delegation. Working against probable Republican candidate **Steven Pierce** is Republican registration of only 13 per cent in 1st CD. In his favor, Bush's popularity, and surprising popularity of Gov. **William Weld**, first Bay State Republican governor in nearly twenty years. Weld's approval rating is 67 per cent. By-election is June 4. . . . Also of interest, upcoming Texas by-election to replace Republican Rep. **Steve Bartlett**, who has resigned from Congress to run for mayor of Dallas. Among the contenders: former **Reagan** Action director **Tom Pauken**, a staunch conservative. . . . In Louisiana it's official: Gov. **Buddy Roemer** will switch parties and run for re-election as a Republican against former Democratic Gov. **Edwin Edwards** and State Rep. **David Duke**. Early matchups show Roemer slightly ahead of Edwards, and both well ahead of Duke.

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"This used to be a really nice Jobcentre until the middle classes moved in."

■ International fallout from Gulf War: While many see poor showing of Soviet-provided equipment in Iraq shoring up Soviet hard-liners, experts in the U.S. say it could help Soviet moderates. Says **Stephen Meyer** of MIT: "I think it will play into the hands of reformers. If you want a modern military, you better get a modern economy." Retired Lieut. Gen. **William Odom**, former head of NSA, adds: The Soviets must improve their industrial base or "they are not going to be in the race." . . . Big loser is **Yasir Arafat**, characterized by Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. Prince **Bandar** as "that clown" for predicting that Saddam would be able to hold out for six years, the day before Saddam announced his withdrawal from Kuwait. Saudi Arabia has in past provided much of PLO's financial support.

■ First annual **Fulton J. Sheen** Lecture will be given at New York's Union League Club, April 3 at 5:30 P.M. Featured speaker **Paul Johnson**, author of *Modern Times*, will be introduced by *NR* Editor **John O'Sullivan**. For info call: 718-821-5671. . . . *NR* Senior Editor **Jeffrey Hart** wins one of 1990's five Golden Hatchet Awards for the best negative reviews of the year. He reviewed **John Updike**'s *Rabbit at Rest* ("Rabbit Hops into Oblivion with Tale between Legs") in October 8 *Washington Times*.

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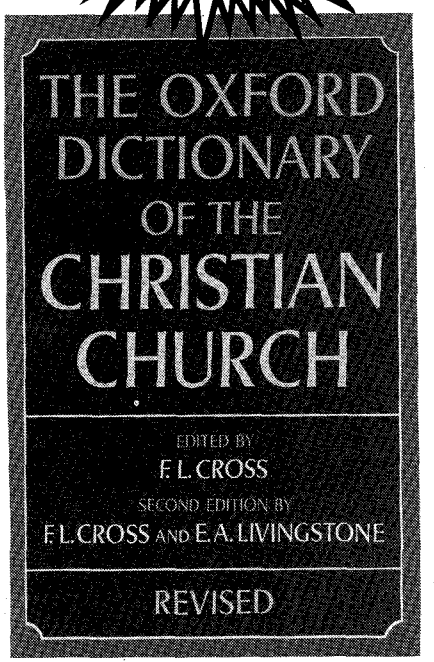

Nothing of Christian interest is absent from these pages. The sweep is awesome:

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THE WEEK

■ The first postwar refugee to come straggling into the Republican Party is Louisiana's Governor Buddy Roemer, who, however, is laying down some conditions: "Not perfect, this party. Changes must and will occur. More women, more minorities." And, no doubt, more opportunists.

■ One of the first acts by long-suffering Kuwaitis after the liberation of Kuwait City was to hang out a banner with the legend: BLOOD FOR FREEDOM—clearly a rebuke to the chants of "No blood for oil" by U.S. protestors, and a pointed reminder of what the war was all about.

■ Talk about modern wars: it was revealed that the Kuwaiti resistance used bribes to get information about the occupying Iraqi forces, then faxed the intelligence to Riyadh.

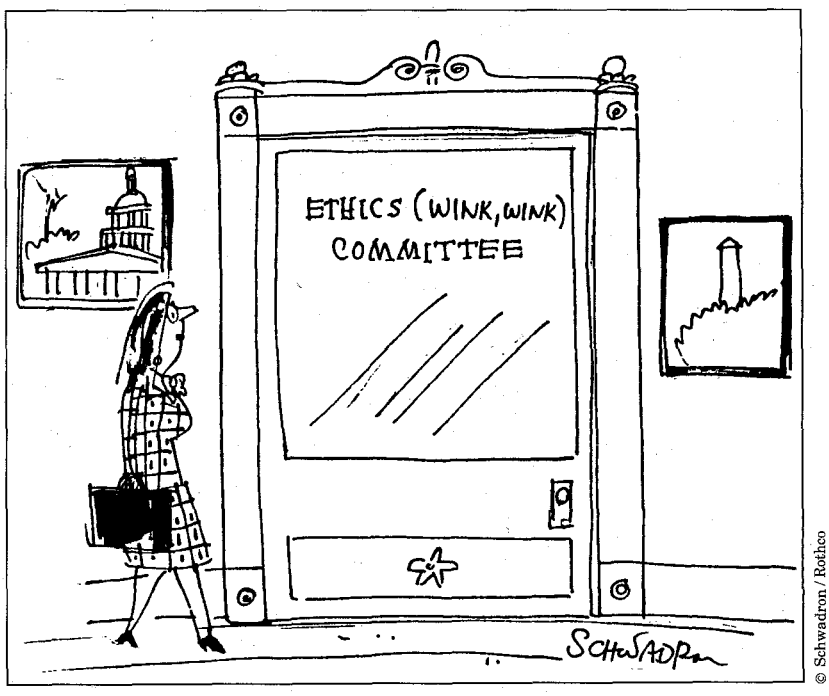
■ Even as congressional Democrats complain about being held accountable for opposing Desert Storm, they continue to show their indifference to national security. Last month, Speaker Foley put four anti-CIA liberals, including the effervescent security risk Ron Dellums, on the House Intelligence Committee. This month, the committee rejected, by a 9 to 6 party-line vote, a secrecy oath that would have committed members not to disclose to unauthorized persons, "directly or indirectly," any classified information received in the course of their duties. Representative Bud Shuster (R., Pa.), who proposed the oath, points out that the new committee chairman, Dave McCurdy (D., Okla.), plans to require executive-branch witnesses testifying before the committee to take an oath. But there may be a conflict here. We suspect the CIA director's oath to protect the nation now precludes him from sharing secrets with Congress.

■ When in early January a Massachusetts resident both faxed and mailed a letter urging his state's junior senator, John Kerry, to support the use of force to get Iraq out of Kuwait, Senator Kerry responded unequivocally—twice. First: "I voted . . . against a resolution giving the President immediate authority to go to war against Iraq to force it out of Kuwait, warning that a decision to go to war was 'rolling the dice' with our future." Then, a few days later: "From the outset of the invasion, I have strongly and unequivocally supported President Bush's response to the crisis and the policy goals he has established with our military deployment in the Persian Gulf." The senator's office blames the confusion on a computer error. Perhaps he shouldn't use a two-faced computer.

■ Of the five senators accused of greasing regulatory rails for the Ponzi-game S&L operator Charles Keating, the Senate ethics committee found only Alan Cranston guilty of an "impermissible pattern of conduct." Dennis DeConcini and Donald Riegle got off with giving "the appearance of being improper," while John Glenn and John McCain "exercised poor judgment." *Cui bono?* Democrats, who saw only one of their colleagues go to the block, out of a possible four; and Republicans, who will not face the prospect of a Democratic push to axe Alfonse D'Amato, up for alleged HUD-related shenanigans. *Cui non bono?* Taxpayers; citizens; Madison, Hamilton, and Jay. Nice work, fellas.

■ WALSH WATCH: Amid the uncertainties of the world, one thing remains constant: the rate at which "temporary" Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh continues to exhaust public funds. America's parasitical prosecutor extracted another $1.2 million since our last report. Total tab to date, $33 million.

■ A few weeks ago Soviet Premier Valentin Pavlov suggested that Western banks and businessmen were trying to destroy the Soviet Union by pouring funds into it. The new investments, you see, would



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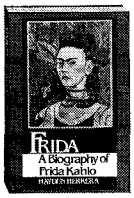

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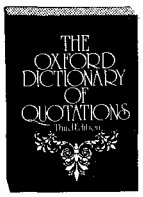

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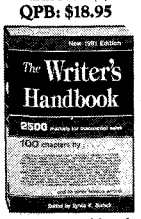

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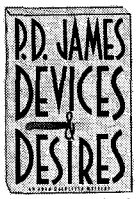

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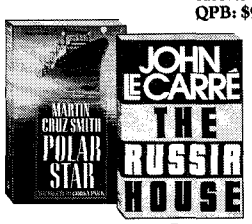

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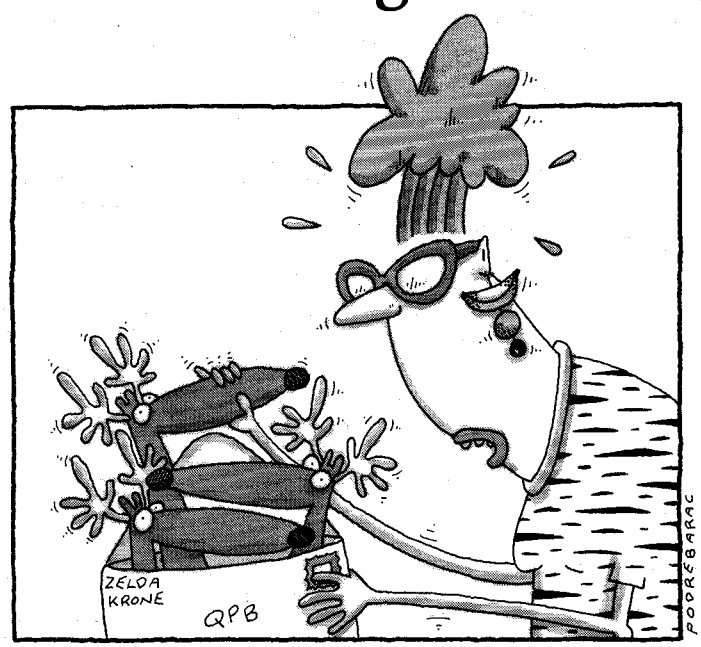

Choosing three books was easy, but getting the three bucks into the envelope proved to be beyond Zelda Krone's capabilities.

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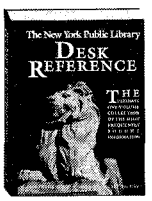

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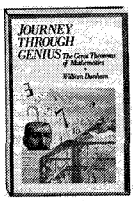

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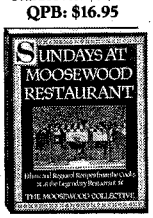

310. A new cookbook from the legendary restaurant, featuring superb vegetarian cookery.
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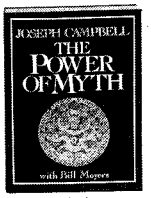

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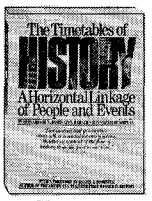

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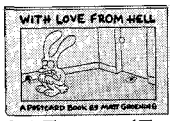

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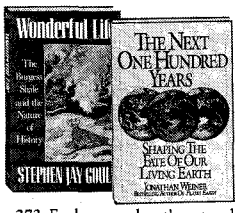

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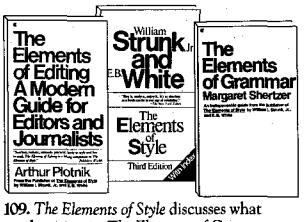
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trigger hyperinflation. Most observers thought this was an aberrant remark, something Pavlov blurted out at the end of a long, terrible day at the office. Then a few days later Mr. Pavlov announced his consumer pricing plan. Central planners are to raise prices on most items by an average of 60 per cent, and then are to soften the blow by raising salaries and pensions. Which items? By how much? Whose salaries? All that will be decided later. But by disallowing the free interplay of supply and demand the Pavlov plan ensures that the current set of irrational prices and production decisions will be replaced by an entirely new set of irrational prices and production decisions. While he may not be an economic genius, Mr. Pavlov seems to have more than a little political savvy: vodka is exempt from price rises.

■ Yugoslavia may be one-tenth the size of the Soviet Union, but it has all the larger country's problems. Two republics—Slovenia and Croatia—have declared Yugoslav law null and void, and one of them ordered a million dollars' worth of rifles from Hungary. Both are ruled by Christian Democratic governments which want to go full speed ahead to a free market. Meanwhile, in Serbia, the Socialist (read: Communist) regime of Slobodan Milosevic has been whipping up nationalist sentiment to distract from a free-falling economy—but protest rallies in Belgrade, the Serbian (and national) capital, suggest this ruse is wearing thin. What Yugoslavia needs is regional autonomy, plus a healthy dose of economic freedom. Such a policy, by improving living standards and defusing ethnic resentment, is the only one that might keep the country together. The country is not worth keeping together on any other basis.

■ Euthanasia advocates who had been embarrassed by the sleazy self-promotion of Jack Kevorkian, "the suicide doctor" who helped a complete stranger kill herself, think they have a better representative in Dr. Timothy Quill, who tells in the latest *New England Journal of Medicine* how he assisted in the suicide of a longtime patient. Setting aside the wisdom of mercy killing itself, we wonder what more its advocates want, given that Quill faces neither legal nor professional censure even though state law and medical codes forbade his action. A further loosening of the traditional medical duty to "do no harm" opens the door not just to more Kevorkians than Quills, but to all manner of convenient suicides and "compassionate" murders. When we use the phrase "better off dead," it is not always the dead whom we think would be better off.

■ Loblaw Companies, Ltd., a Canadian supermarket chain, sold $5 million worth of "environmentally friendly" products between June and August of 1990. Houghton Mifflin will be publishing *The 1992 Information Please Environmental Almanac*. Gosh, that's nice, isn't it? It suggests a slight adjustment of P. T. Barnum's famous words: "There's an environmentalist born every minute."

■ Fidel Castro has imported two hundred thousand bicycles because (check one): ☐ The New Communist Man promotes fitness and ecological preservation, or ☐ The Russians aren't giving him much oil these days.

That's the Middle East

In southern Iraq, where Iranians pry,
Surveying the scene with a buzzard's bleak eye,
We seem to be stuck with Saddam, whose demise
Would only incite all the Shi'ites to rise,
As, snug in his coffin, Khomeini observes
What's starting to get on the President's nerves.

W. H. VON DREELE

Pax Americana?

LIBERAL scolds remind us hourly that we must not gloat over our great victory in the Gulf War. And on this occasion, liberal scolds are right. To gloat over a conflict in which many thousands of Iraqi soldiers perished—most of them conscripts, few of them hostile to us in their own right, and all of them pathetically outgunned—would be a shameful sign of our own brutalization rather than a robust shaking-off of some post-Vietnam malaise. But we may properly take pride in a brilliantly conceived and executed military operation in unfamiliar terrain against odds that look contemptible only in retrospect. And we should seek to understand both the nature of our success and its wider implications for the U.S. role in the world.

It was, first, a political success on the part of President Bush to take a united nation into a distant war with congressional authorization. It was also a diplomatic success in that the U.S. action was both endorsed by several votes of the United Nations Security Council and assisted militarily and financially by NATO allies and local Arab rulers. It was, finally, a smashing military success.

Ninety per cent of that military success can be attributed to the U.S., which supplied most of the forces and all of the leadership. But credit for the political and diplomatic successes must be shared with our allies. Democrats in Congress would have been even more reluctant to approve intervention if the UN had also been hostile to it or if U.S. forces had

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been acting unilaterally. UN approval was itself secured by the united diplomatic pressure of the U.S., Britain, France, and other allies. And President Bush's relentless but necessary destruction of Iraq's military capability in the final days of the conflict would have been much more difficult to sustain if the war had not been an exercise in collective security blessed by the UN.

What we see in the Gulf War, therefore, is a victory for strong, decisive, even dominant U.S. leadership of a largely Western coalition rather than a purely unilateral triumph of American power. And the *pax Americana* to which it points in the post-cold-war, post–Gulf War world must be similarly qualified.

In terms of pure power, this country finds itself in a position of lonely eminence in international affairs. The Soviet Union is, and will long continue to be, preoccupied with its own internal decline. Yesterday's superpowers of tomorrow, Germany and Japan, have demonstrated that wealth is not, of itself, power and that they are as yet unfitted for major international responsibility. Britain and France, which had "good wars," were nonetheless cheerful subordinates in a U.S.-led enterprise rather than independent actors on the world stage. And China, India, and Brazil are all regional powers at best, large-scale versions of Bangladesh at worst. Only the United States has the economic strength, military hardware, and logistical ability to move men and matériel around the world to protect its own interests and those of the West. We are now the only world superpower.

If the U.S. were the Soviet Union, or Wilhelmine Germany, or Napoleonic France, we might predict the result with some confidence. The U.S. would throw its weight around, subordinate all else (including its allies) to a narrow view of its own national interests, and over time call into being a hostile coalition of powers determined to frustrate American purposes by creating a new balance of power. A European superstate, protectionist and with its own defense arrangements, and a Japanese-led economic bloc in East Asia would probably be the new contenders for world hegemony. And the precious asset of collective security underpinned by overwhelming and incontestable U.S. power—symbolized by James Baker's warning to the Iraqi government not to use poison gas against its own people—would be lost.

Because the U.S. is the U.S., however, the world faces the opposite danger: that America will celebrate its victory by retreating into a complacent isolationism. We're Number One—so let's retire at the top. Seemingly reasonable arguments for this instinct are not lacking. With a burgeoning federal deficit and pressing domestic problems, we can't afford to play the world's policeman. What do we get out of it anyway? And if the answer is world stability and the prosperity it underpins, why should the U.S. alone enforce what is a general interest?

What these arguments point to, of course, is not isolationism but American leadership of a largely Western coalition that would preserve world peace in concert. Other countries would help bear the cost, but America, by virtue of its preponderant power, would draw up the rules, decide which cases of aggression required a response, and organize a coalition to deliver it. Thus the peace that ensued would reflect mainly American interests. In practice, however, it would minimize U.S. responsibility, since the principle of "a blow in time saves nine" would deter most attacks in the first place. Saddam has been humbled in part *pour encourager les autres*.

Nor is this qualified *pax Americana* a geopolitical abstraction unrelated to present international conditions. In her powerful speech in Washington a week ago, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher advocated four practical steps that would over time bring about something very like it. The first was that the U.S. should continue to play "that dominant role in NATO to which we have become accustomed," and that new institutions of European defense should be avoided. Second, NATO's role should be expanded so that, in particular, it could address "threats out of area," namely in the Third World. Next, Western Europe and the U.S. should gradually move to create an Atlantic free-trade area, which would encompass almost 60 per cent of the world's GNP and, among other benefits, would "provide the economic underpinning for NATO and its out-of-area role." And, fourth, the combination of UN authority and enforcement by a U.S.-led coalition should be the model for future interventions.

NR INDEX

Number of Americans killed in action predicted by Daniel Ellsberg in *The Nation*: 10,000 to 50,000.
Number of victims of the St. Valentine's Day massacre: 7.
Number of congressmen who signed Democratic Representative Ron Dellums's anti–Gulf War manifesto: 82.
Number of U.S. combat deaths: 79.
Total English dead at Agincourt: 29.
Number of domestic highway-accident fatalities during the ground war: 504.
Incidents involving Iraqi troops surrendering to TV camera crews: 2.
Incidents involving Iraqi troops surrendering to unpiloted reconnaissance drones: 1.
M-1 tanks destroyed by Iraqi army: 0.

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Here is a new world order that is neither utopian nor unrealistically "realist." It neither commits the U.S. to an international federalism based on the UN, which would be both unworkable and undesirable, nor requires the U.S. to embark on a series of unilateral interventions, for which the American people have shown no taste. It employs existing institutions and relies on existing allies. It does so for interests which are general and collective and which therefore arouse minimal opposition from other powers—but interests that are nonetheless refracted through the prism of American leadership. And as we know from our experience in the Gulf crisis, this is an approach that works—and works with brilliant success. It is a *pax Americana* in sheep's clothing—but, oh, what big teeth it has.

Bonfire of the Democrats

DISRAELI, according to the quip, found the Whigs bathing and ran off with their clothes. Saddam Hussein found the Democrats bathing and burned their clothes.

Democratic presidential hopefuls sustained a kill rate as high as the Iraqi air force. That burst of flames over there is Jesse Jackson, brought down not only because he screeched and squawked at anti-war rallies of the furthermost Left, but because Colin Powell has presented the country with a black figure whose claim on public attention results from the fact that he actually does things, as opposed to being Shadow Poobah from the District of Columbia. This plume of smoke is Mario Cuomo, who burnished his non-existent foreign-policy credentials by suggesting that the Iraqis might be induced to leave Kuwait if only we gave them a piece of it. This abandoned, twisted hulk is Dick Gephardt, not opposed to wars *per se*—he talks so tough on protectionism, you'd swear he wants one with Japan—but who said of this war that Congress could always cut the funding for it mid-way if it was unhappy with President Bush's handling of it. And lining the road to Basra in blackened chunks are the fragments of Sam Nunn's reputation, which was so pulverized by his cop-out vote for continued sanctions that he has taken himself out of the running.

Nationally, the Vietnam syndrome may be gone with the wind, but the Democrats have preserved it as if it were an endangered species. The onetime party of Harry Truman remains in the grip of its Wallace wing—its Henry Wallace wing.

Democrats have come up with several strategies for coping with their disarray.

—*They were tough on Saddam Hussein in the Eighties, when Republicans were arming him.* True enough. While liberal Democrats like Teddy Kennedy were deploring Saddam's human-rights record, and his potential threat to Israel, the Realpolitikers of the Reagan Administration were beefing him up as a bulwark against Iran. Why, then, when the

WHAT THE DEMOCRATS SAID

We quote the following representative absurdities, with thanks to columnist Ray Kerrison:

Senator **Edward Kennedy** (D., Mass.): "Now is not the time for war. A war will be brutal and costly. It will take weeks, even months, and will quickly turn from an air war to a ground war with thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of American casualties."

Senator **Sam Nunn** (D., Ga.): "Our policy and our military planning cannot be based on an expectation that the war will be concluded quickly and easily." (Anyone care to buy a used military expert from the Democratic Party?)

Representative **Gerry Studds** (D., Mass.): "I am unwilling to put my faith or American lives in the hands of those who tell us so confidently that a war will be quick, easy, and successful."

Representative **Joseph P. Kennedy II** (D., Mass.): "Ladies and gentlemen, these fickle friends, the Kuwaitis and Saudis, have never proven that they are worth the kind of price that President Bush is committing." (We herewith request from Representative Kennedy a list of the people "worth" defending.)

Senator **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** (D., N.Y.): "We are not in an international crisis. . . . Nothing large happened. A nasty little country invaded a littler, but just as nasty, country." (Was Kuwait threatening its own citizens and its neighbors with chemical and biological warfare? Just what countries had Kuwait invaded lately?)

Senator **Paul Wellstone** (D., Minn.): "I believe if we rush to war, it will be a nightmare in the Persian Gulf, our country will be torn apart, and very little good will happen in the United States of America for a long, long, long time." (As former New York Mayor **Ed Koch** recently wrote, "I weep for my party.")

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monster we helped create finally broke his straps, did the Democrats shy from dealing with him? Obviously, because the task required an assertion of American will, rather than mere moralizing. He who said A could not say B. When George Bush, by contrast, finally came around to A, B followed.

—*The Democrats were tough in their fashion.* They thought Saddam would bow to sanctions, and if he didn't, they would then go to war. Nonsense. The pro-sanctions policy, which allows them to say this now, would also have allowed them to say, had the war gone badly or gone on too long, that they would never have turned to it. It was, in short, an evasion rather than a policy, as crafty as it was cowardly.

—*People vote their wallets.* Mostly true, though it's hard to see how the Democrats can derive too much comfort from this in the long run, since the tax-and-spend policies which have destroyed George Bush's economic credibility were adopted in order to stroke congressional Democratic sentiments. But wallets aren't the only thing people vote on at the national level, since they also want Presidents who will keep the country strong and secure—which is why the Democrats have elected only one President in the last 23 years.

—*So the Democrats will lose the White House, but they'll keep their grip on Congress.* True, if the past is prologue, since for a host of reasons—timidity, gerrymandering, the changing nature of the congressman's job—Republicans make no headway on Capitol Hill. Among those reasons, however, has been the GOP's unwillingness to play politics as Democrats play it—as a contact sport. Has the Gulf War marked a shift? Republican congressional spokesmen have been making all of the above arguments—just as surely as Democratic spokesmen would have made their opposites if the war had bogged down. Naturally, the Democrats are squealing. Squeal on. Maybe, just maybe, the Republicans are determined to fight harder than the Republican Guard.

The Eighties Economy

THE conventional economic wisdom about the Reagan decade—good for the rich and the white, bad for the poor and the non-white—is slowly giving ground to the truth.

In October the Census Bureau reported that the number of poor persons fell in 1989 for the seventh year in a row, pushing the poverty rate down to its lowest level of the decade. A subsequent Census report explained why: the growth rate of black single-parent families fell to 3.8 per cent per year from 1980 to 1990, compared to 6.1 per cent per year during the Seventies. While the reasons for this trend are complex, only the willfully blind would pretend that federal benefit reductions played no role.

A statistical compendium released early this month by Senators Domenici and Gramm demonstrates that the "decade of greed" was, in fact, two economically distinct eras. From 1979 to 1983 the poorest fifth of American families suffered a 17.4 per cent decline in real income, while the wealthiest fifth enjoyed a 4.6 per cent advance. Then Ronald Reagan's policies took hold: during the next six years the average income of the poorest fifth grew 11.8 per cent, or only slightly below the 12.2 per cent growth recorded by the wealthiest fifth.

After-tax income—a better measure of living standards—grew even faster, especially for the poor. The Domenici–Gramm study found that the bottom 40 per cent of American taxpayers experienced a 31 per cent reduction in income-tax rates between 1980 and 1990, versus an average cut of only 9 per cent for the top 40 per cent. All in all, federal transfers and tax credits added about $5,600 to the average poor family's budget in 1989; by contrast, the government took away a net $11,400 from families in the top fifth of the income distribution.

Yet it was economic growth—not federal income redistribution—that generated most of the gains experienced by the poor. Total civilian employment rose 19 per cent between 1982 and 1989; for blacks the rise was 30 per cent, and the number of employed Hispanics rose an enviable 52 per cent over the same period. Domenici and Gramm note that 56.9 per cent of the black population was employed by 1989, the highest level in the 18 years that the government has kept separate data on black employment.

Were the jobs worth having? In a decade where most new jobs were supposedly of the dead-end burger-flipper variety, 82 per cent of the employment increase occurred in higher-paying technical, managerial, and professional occupations, and only 12 per cent in low-pay, low-skill jobs. The nation's white-collar workforce increased 25 per cent between 1983 and 1989. The number of white-collar blacks increased by 30 per cent over this period, while the number of Hispanics in these jobs rose 70 per cent.

Unfortunately, the underclass is alive and not too well despite the longest peacetime economic expan-

Impossible Dreams

I think that I shall never see
George Bush invite a Balt to tea
Till Gabriel gives up his horn
And Jesse Helms appears in porn.

W. H. VON DREELE

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sion in history. In particular, families headed by single mothers did not share in the economic advance of the Eighties. The widening gap between rich and poor, which many blame on Reagan tax and spending policies, is in reality due to the rising proportion of poor families in this category. A prosperous economy is a necessary condition for raising the living standards of the poor. But it cannot compensate for every social ill, including self-inflicted wounds.

Thugs with Badges

THE PUBLIC didn't have to take the word of a bleeding-heart civil-libertarian group that 15 Los Angeles cops clubbed and kicked a motorist who was lying submissive on the pavement: a citizen videotaped the whole thing. True, he didn't inform the police of their rights as he surreptitiously recorded their conduct, and maybe the ACLU can do something about that. Let's hope not.

The video speaks for itself. You don't have to be a racism-hunter to attach significance to the fact that the motorist was black and his assailants, all 15 of them, white. And you don't have to be a fascism-hunter to wonder just what sort of unofficial code of conduct governs the LAPD when so many policemen can participate spontaneously in so vicious an act, each confident that his colleagues will condone it.

Conscientious policemen shouldn't be hampered in the pursuit of their duties. There is nothing our cities need more desperately than law and order. But law and order can't be maintained by crime.

It's no extenuation of these thugs' behavior to ask, however, whether it may be best understood less as purely gratuitous violence than as a sort of cynical vigilantism, stemming from the collapse of effective prosecution. Criminals (those not in uniform, that is) know that they are unlikely to be punished even if caught; and even if they are punished, the devices of delay and plea-bargaining all but ensure that the actual penalty will be slight, and long in coming. The criminal-justice system is badly in need, not only of reform, but of justice.

Free Election, Expensive Aid

LAST SUNDAY the Salvadoran people braved the polls in the seventh democratic election since 1982. We use the word "braved" quite literally: in the past, Salvadorans have had to dodge the bullets of the FMLN insurgency, and though the FMLN participated in this election through its front groups, not many Salvadorans would have bet the farm on promises of non-violence. The FMLN's opinion of the electoral process is best indicated by the fact that it announced *before* Sunday that the cease-fire would end the day after.

That's no surprise: these municipal and congressional elections appear, as *NR* goes to press, to have given a large majority to the Arena party of President Alfredo Cristiani, and only a fraction of the vote to the FMLN fronts. We suspect the State Department has mixed feelings. Successive U.S. Governments have barely managed to disguise their contempt for the choice of the Salvadoran people.

The best way to redress these slights is to make good on the second half of the $85 million in military aid which was promised two years ago, cut in half after the November 1989 killing of six Jesuits, and promised again (but not actually sent) in the wake of the FMLN's executions of two wounded U.S. servicemen whose helicopter it had downed.

Sources tell *NR*, however, that President Cristiani will probably never get the rest of the promised assistance, particularly if his government continues to show the same sort of ineptness in prosecuting the killers of the Jesuits that the U.S. has shown in prosecuting Manuel Noriega. But this may not be all bad. Countries from Taiwan to Guatemala have demonstrated that they are better off without U.S. aid and the meddling from our government that such aid entails. President Cristiani should ask himself whether his country has more to lose by accepting U.S. aid than by renouncing it.

Father, Son, And Holy Ghost Writer

A GROUP of liberal New Testament scholars called the Jesus Seminar has completed a six-year study and reached a remarkable conclusion: that only about a fifth of the words attributed to Jesus in the Gospels are authentic. We note that the Seminar members tend to ascribe authenticity especially to those passages that lend themselves to a politically correct agenda: the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Unjust Steward, and sayings critical of the rich or urging charity to the poor. For the rest, the Seminar's conclusions are stunningly naïve.

The words of Jesus have a unique status in the West, and for the best of reasons: they are inimitable in their spiritual profundity. Once heard, they resound permanently in the soul. By comparison, even Shakespeare's eloquence is shallow stuff: it doesn't, after all, move people to change their lives. One might as well compare Bach and thunder.

Do the Seminar members really think it's such an easy matter to coin immortal words? If Jesus didn't say them, who did? (He must have had a good ghost

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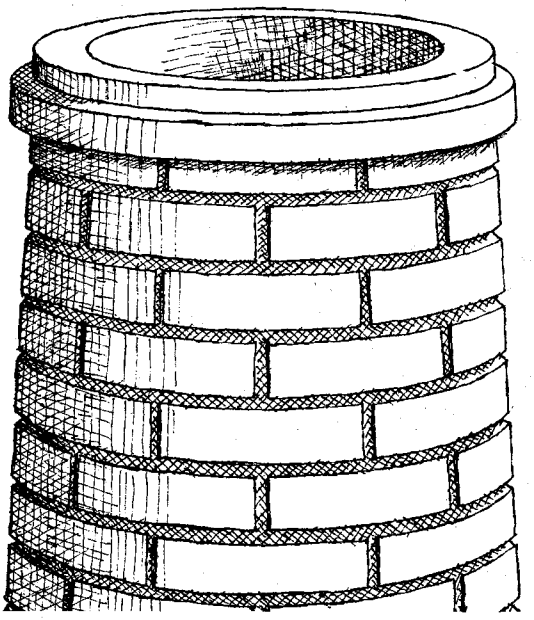
A fuming smokestack is the perfect symbol of our national dilemma. On one hand, it means the jobs and products we need. On the other, it means pollution. ❧ *Some think having one without the other will take a miracle. We think it will take natural gas.* ❧ *Because gas, the cleanest of all fossil fuels, can reduce emissions across the board. You name it— CO, CO_2, NO_X, SO_2, particulates — and natural gas combustion produces none or substantially less.* ❧ *But gas is more than clean. It's extremely efficient as well. So even fewer pollutants are created since less fuel is expended to do a job.* ❧ *Which also reduces costs. And that's another argument favoring gas. It makes the fight against pollution more affordable.* ❧ *And, since nature blessed North America with vast stores of gas, it's a fight we can definitely win. With energy security and a better trade balance as a bonus.* ❧ *Natural gas. It's not the only answer. Just the best one we have right now.*



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writer.) The notion that someone else simply knocked off sayings in the manner of Jesus is a little like supposing that *King Lear* was written not by Shakespeare himself, but by someone who'd read *Hamlet* a few times until he got the hang of it.

G. K. Chesterton had one of the sharpest insights into the character of Jesus' words when he noted that they are not dated. Plato, Aristotle, Mohammed are all very much men of their time; but nothing in Jesus' sayings marks their author as a man confined by his era. His words are not only still true: they still have the power to make us uneasy. In a word, they are *alive*.

The silliness of the Jesus Seminar's findings lies less in their rejection of the Gospels' veracity than in their casual assumption that there could have been two or more men capable of composing the Sermon on the Mount. People have argued endlessly over whether Jesus was God or man; it took a committee to discover that He was, in effect, a committee.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Bill:

Thank you so much for the book which just arrived. I intend to read it in my Hertz limousine on the way to Palm Beach. You certainly amaze me with your production. I cannot believe that you manage to do all these things and still keep up with the Valet Parking at LaGuardia.

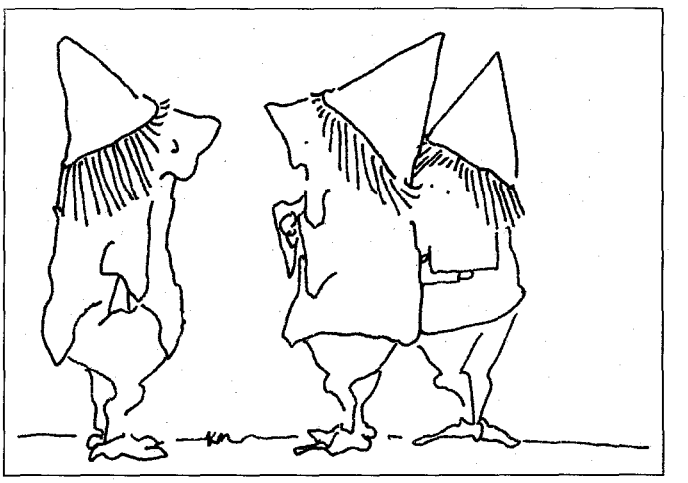
Cheers,
Art [Buchwald]
Washington, D.C.

Dear Art: Thanks for your concern for the Valet Parking, but not to worry. Supply-side is looking after it. Did you know that Hertz cars become automatically insured if you pay with an American Express card? Try it. I'll hold one for you at Valet LaGuardia. Warmest, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In follow-up to Mr. Cecil Kuhne's letter about his wife's "If I Ruled the World" third-grade student ["Notes & Asides," Dec. 31], from page 577 hardcover/540 paperback of the book you (per Barbara Branden) have not read, by the author you choose to regard in parallel to Thomas More's regard for William Tyndale:

> It is said that [Zorro] fought against the looting rulers and returned the loot to those who had been robbed, but that is not the meaning of the legend which has survived. [Zorro] is remembered, not as a champion of *property*, but as a champion of *need*, not as a defender of the *robbed*, but as a provider of the *poor*. He is [honored as a] man who assumed a halo of virtue by practicing charity with wealth which he did not own, by giving away goods which he had not produced, by making others pay for the luxury of his pity. He is the man who became the symbol of the idea that need, not achievement, is the source of rights, that we don't have to produce, only to want, that the earned does not belong to us, but the unearned does.



"Peace through brotherhood—in the tradition of Cain and Abel, or maybe Ishmael and Isaac?"

David Daiches says on page 15 of his *The King James Version of the English Bible*: "There is little doubt that had Tyndale lived he would have produced a version of the whole Bible."

For those of your readers who are unaware of the fact (of which David Daiches and his editors were well aware): William Tyndale was murdered. A chief contributor to his murder was Thomas More.

Zorro is not Robin Hood, but the excerpt above and the third-grade student's letter are unchanged by this fact. Ayn Rand is certainly not William Tyndale, but the blindness each encountered and still encounter is unchanged by this fact. WFB is not Thomas More, but the mutuality of their invective is unchanged by this fact—perhaps Thomas More was kinder, and Thomas More's was at least first-person invective. Might you interest yourself in the honest position of reading *Atlas Shrugged* yourself, first hand?

Concisely,
David J. Weisman
Burbank, Calif.

Dear Mr. Weisman: But (seriously) why read the (endlessly long) book, when its thesis is known in such detail, and the writing is pedestrian . . . To be altruistic? Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

When Saddam Hussein, the Sword of Islam, suddenly withdrew, did we then have Kuwaitus interruptus?

Best regards,
Chris Moran
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Moran: Ho ho ho. Very nice. Wish I had your Rorschach! Cordially, **—WFB**

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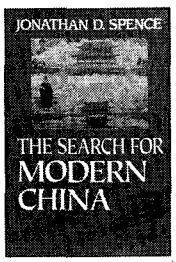

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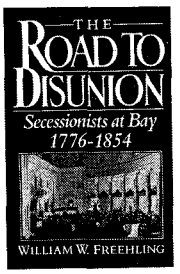

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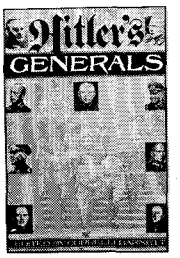

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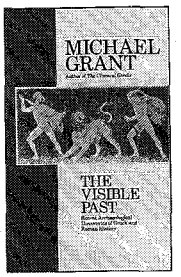

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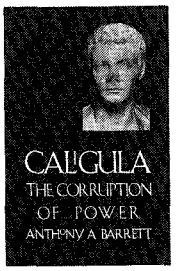

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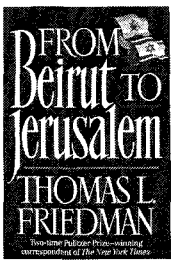

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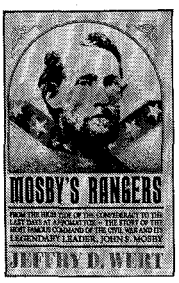

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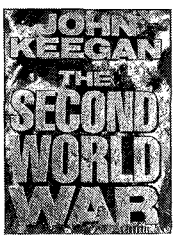

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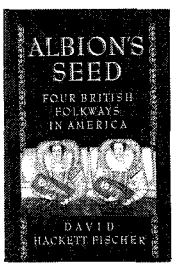

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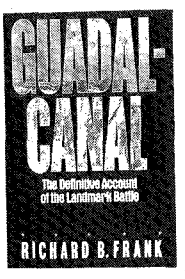

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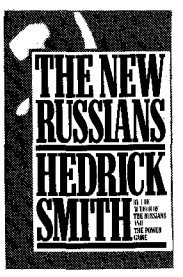

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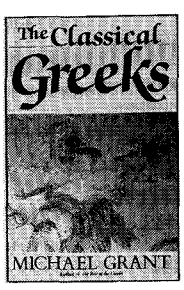

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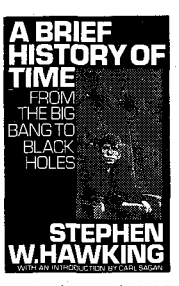

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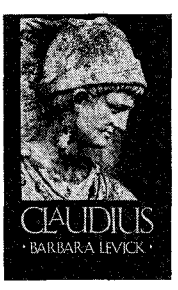

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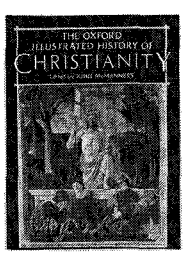

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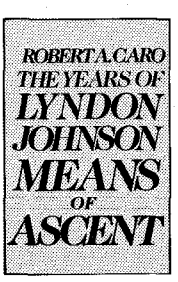

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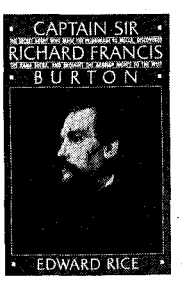

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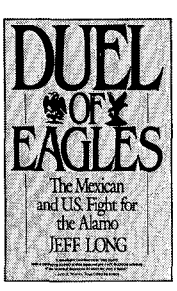

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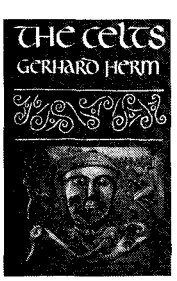

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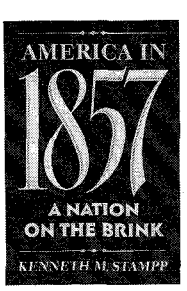

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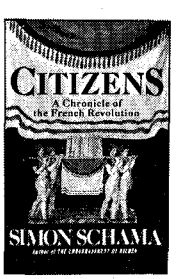

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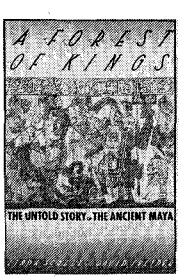

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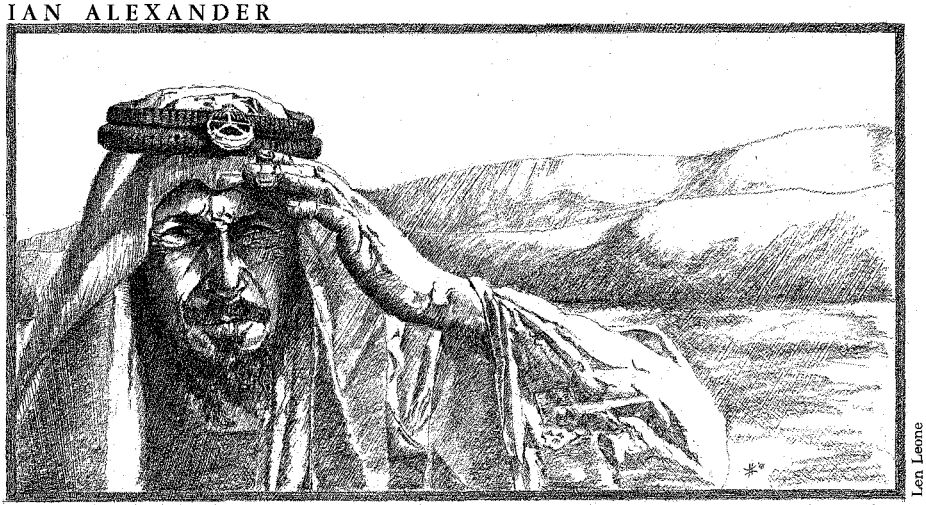
ON THE SCENE

Birds of a Fragile Feather

IAN ALEXANDER



Len Leone

RIYADH

THERE is hardly a parakeet or canary to be found in the pet shops of Riyadh these days. Unlike dogs, which are uncommon because of Islamic concerns about cleanliness, the birds are absent because they were all purchased early in the crisis with Iraq. The reason: in the early days, when use of chemical weapons was widely expected, a pamphlet was circulated advising residents that if they saw birds falling off the trees, it was a sure sign of gas attack.

With the cessation of hostilities and, happily, no use of gas, Saudis are seeking early warnings of other dangers, both political and military. As they scan the regional horizon, they see much to give them concern.

Iraq: "As of now, we have no assurance that this man will not live to threaten us all again," says one senior Gulf diplomat. "While he clings to power, we are threatened." Even without Saddam, Iraq is a huge question mark, with no clear leader in the wings, and numerous fractious minority groups, above all the Shi'ites and the Kurds. The majority Shi'ite Muslim population, concentrated in the south and encouraged by Iranian co-religionists, would like finally to have power in Iraq, or, if that is not possible, then to break away into independence. However, Turkey has clearly stated it would not accept an independent, southern Shi'ite state dominated by Iran.

In the north, the non-Arab Kurds want nothing more than independence. Some observers believe Turkey would like to acquire this area to add to its own Kurdish eastern region; but just as Turkey opposes Iranian domination of the south, so it is improbable that Iran would accept such a strengthening of Turkey.

In any case, the reduction of Iraq to a relatively minor status in the region would do nothing to quell the nervousness of Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states, as power would then be concentrated in traditionally non-friendly Turkish and Iranian hands. Nevertheless, the prevailing mood seems to be, as one diplomat observes, "Whatever the risk, the leadership in Baghdad must be replaced. In this case, the devil we know is worse than the one we don't know (if in fact he turns out to be one)."

Kuwait: Frankly put, there is no love lost between Saudis and Kuwaitis. The Iraqi incursion made them, at best, uncomfortable bedfellows. With Kuwaitis taking back control of their state, the question in Riyadh is: What kind of Kuwait will it be? Will it be ruled by the Al Sabah royal family, or will real power devolve to some form of democratic alternative? On the one hand, the Kuwaiti royals, especially Sheikh Jabar, are considered neither benevolent nor particularly competent. On the other, it is hard to conceive what effective form democracy might take (in the last elections, in 1985, there were 32,000 qualified electors out of a total Kuwaiti citizenry of 650,000, owing to stringent classification of citizenship types).

Then, too, there is concern about the effects of democracy in Saudi Arabia. "Our system has worked for us, very well," observes a government official. "Even though there are many aspects we would like to see changed, the house of Al Saud is the key unifying link in our country. My wife would like to drive; many would like a more open press; others would like relaxed rules about public gatherings. But that doesn't mean we would be comfortable with anything like the Western form of democracy."

Iran: There is gratitude here for the neutral position Iran took throughout the crisis, but Saudis remain wary of this large, wealthy, non-Arab, and perennially threatening neighbor. "The Iranians have made moves to normalize relations with Arab and Western nations," notes a Saudi observer. "But we still cannot trust them, especially because of their divisive effect on our Shi'ite minority," concentrated in the oil-rich Eastern Province of the Saudi kingdom.

What will Iran do with the 140 Iraqi aircraft shockingly diverted by Saddam during the height of the air bombardment of Iraq? "They will do what anyone would in a like position: strengthen their own air force," says a retired Saudi military officer. "They need to rebuild after the war with Iraq, and this is the cheapest possible way to get the most expensive weapons."

Politically, significant overtures are being made toward Iran. "If Iran is a good citizen during the *hajj* [pilgrimage] season, we will reinstate diplo-

Mr. Alexander is a longtime observer of the Arab scene.

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matic ties," says a senior government official with significant commercial interests (not uncommon or considered unethical here). "It is good politics *and* good business."

Syria: "Who are we kidding? Do we really trust Hafez Assad in the same security alliance?" The fast change in relations with Syria since August 2 is perhaps the most shocking piece of the current Arabian puzzle. Of all Arab leaders, Hafez Assad was considered the most treacherous.

The recent meeting in Damascus of the foreign ministers of Egypt, Syria, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, and Oman) was noteworthy for many things, but perhaps most of all for the inclusion of Syria, and indeed its role as host. Because of the need to strengthen the military muscle of the wealthy GCC members, most Arabs are willing to go along with Syria's participation, among other reasons, as one veteran diplomat put it, because "Inside the tent, at least we can keep an eye on them."

Israel/Palestine: There is, of course, no magic solution to what Saddam Hussein might have termed the mother of all problems. However, most analysts believe the chances for serious progress are better now than at any time since 1948.

The good news is an expressed willingness by both Israelis and Americans to consider participation in some form of international conference; the bad news is that there is no credible Palestinian leader to attend such a conference. Yasir Arafat has destroyed his position in the area, especially with the Saudis, who have long been principal funders of the PLO. However, there is something of a mood to go ahead with a multilateral conference with simply a balanced Palestinian delegation, giving the neighboring Arab delegations (Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia) the task of guiding matters to an acceptable peace.

There is reluctance in several Saudi quarters to take this approach, as it could expose fellow Arabs to sellout charges by any dissidents not fully satisfied with what is sure to fall far short of perfection, for either side. "Is it possible to have more than two edges to a sword?" asks a Saudi diplomat. "If we were to take such a role, I think we would find out. The Palestinian people surely deserve peace, despite the treachery of their leadership, but it is a no-win proposition for us."

There remains the willingness to push for peace, however. "As long as the Americans maintain their interest and pressure, we will do our part," the diplomat concluded. "But ultimately, the forging of a workable solution remains in three pairs of hands: the Israelis', the Palestinians', and the Americans'. You cannot avoid it."

There is great joy here that peace has been achieved with relatively little loss of life. Saudis, however, have come to see peace as a flock of fragile birds. They will be watching carefully to see whether they remain in the trees, or fall to the noxious gas of regional politics. □

Out of Hiding

PAUL ERICSON

Mike Newton

KUWAIT CITY

FORTY-EIGHT hours after allied forces liberated Kuwait City, darkness shrouded the capital—at two o'clock in the afternoon. The dense, inky black smoke from nine hundred burning oil wells had turned day into night. Joyous Kuwaitis in makeshift motorcades festooned with streamers and flags were forced to turn on their lights to follow a victory parade that snaked through downtown streets. Along the curving esplanade overlooking white sandy beaches and the city harbor, a light, greasy rain, began to fall. The pungent scent of smoke and oil wafted on a slight breeze. Jubilant teenagers fired captured Soviet-made Kalashnikov machine guns into the air.

After seven months of Iraqi occupation, the inhabitants of this ravaged city were coming out of hiding, peering out from behind shuttered windows. Tentatively at first, and then with growing confidence, they stepped into streets and boardwalks where just two days earlier Iraqi tanks had squatted in menacing silence.

Unlike Baghdad with its bombed-out buildings and piles of rubble left behind by allied bombers, the damage in Kuwait was inflicted from the inside out. Some prominent buildings, including most of the major hotels, were visibly scarred by fire or bullet holes. At first glance, though, most of downtown Kuwait City offered surprisingly little evidence of damage. A closer look revealed a ghost town of shops looted and burned, and in many cases stripped of the last light fixture and piece of furniture. "They stole everything," said Mohammed al-Mutawa, a 43-year-old men's clothier, pointing to the gutted space behind a shattered plate-glass window. "You may see what looks like a good building, but inside it's destroyed."

Mutawa, a graduate of San José State University, and his friend Anwar Alzouman, a 32-year-old graduate of Duke University law school, drove me around the city—something they would not have dared do in the days when Iraqi army patrols cruised the streets looking for members of the Kuwaiti resistance.

Rooftop satellite dishes that had de-

Mr. Ericson is an American journalist who covered the Persian Gulf War.

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livered the first news of the invasion to many Kuwaitis via CNN nodded down toward the street, their cables severed. "They didn't want to let anyone know what was going on here," said Mutawa. Long lines of cars jammed into one of the few gas stations that had opened.

The Iraqis had fled, but one incident reflected the tension they left behind. Mutawa drove me to a deserted apartment building his family owned on the outskirts of the city, ostensibly to show me an anti-aircraft gun Iraqi troops had placed on the rooftop. We trudged up six flights of stairs—the electricity was off throughout the city, rendering the elevator useless—to see the abandoned artillery piece, its barrel pointing straight up in the air. As we walked back down the dimly lit stairwell, six men carrying machine guns suddenly burst up the stairs, prodding a young, dark-haired man up toward the roof. The young man had his hands tied behind him: he looked terrified, and was screaming in Arabic. "Quickly, down the stairs," my hosts urged, grabbing me and yelling a greeting to the hustling group.

Outside, five young members of the Kuwaiti resistance had surrounded the building, and pointed their assortment of automatic rifles and machine guns at the door. They were friends of my guides and slowly advanced to meet us once they recognized them. The terrified young man, they said, was a Palestinian; they suspected him of collaborating with the Iraqi secret police who seized and tortured Kuwaitis. "He will not be killed—he will be questioned and receive a trial," said Alzouman, shrugging toward the roof. Five minutes later, the armed band emerged from the building, their captive still bound but apparently unharmed.

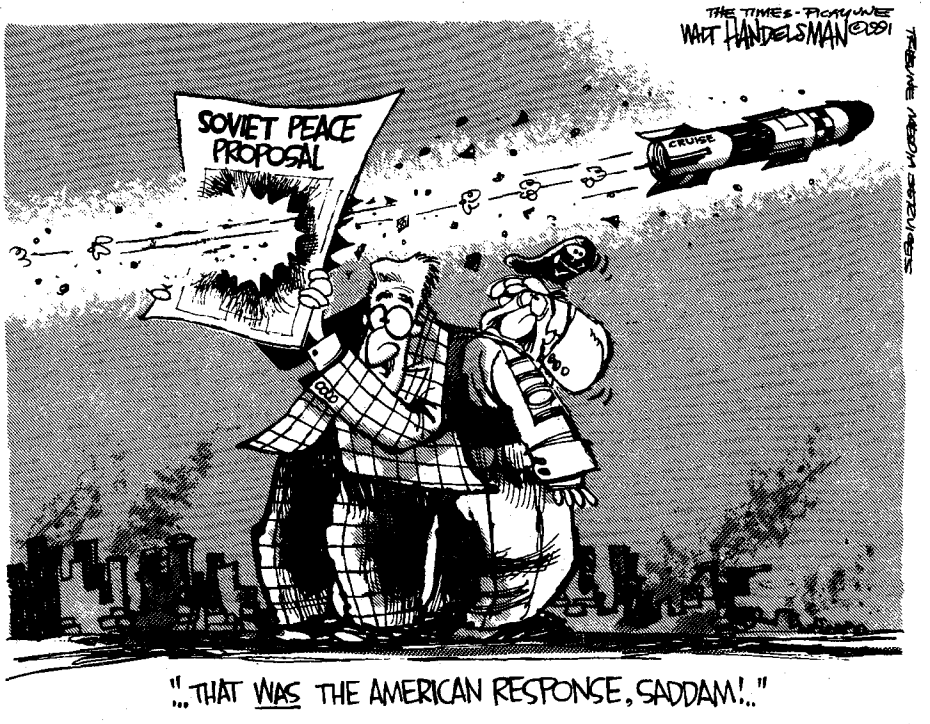
One of the resistance fighters, a tall man in his twenties, wearing a black shirt, black trousers, and a red-and-white scarf that covered nearly all his face, shoved the Palestinian up against a black sedan, and began yelling and slapping him. The two shouted for a few minutes, before the Kuwaiti opened the door, pushed the Palestinian inside, and sped off.

It would be several days before the Kuwaiti army began to impose any kind of order. During that time, there was little running water, electricity only for those with emergency generators, and scarce food. Nonetheless, in that second day of freedom, Kuwaitis rejoiced in mundane activities that for the past seven months had been forbidden. The 11 P.M. curfew was lifted, and revelers celebrated into the early morning. Kuwaiti flags flew proudly from apartment windows. "We were a spoiled people," said Alzouman. "We weren't used to living on so little." Driving me around the city, Alzouman said, "We were just hiding, sleeping, and eating. We used to sleep with one eye open." For the next few days, though, "we're just going to have a good time for while."

For the first time since last summer, Dr. Iman Mokaddas, a 29-year-old pathologist, took her three-year-old daughter, Radya, for a walk on the long meandering promenade overlooking the harbor. Roils of barbed wire and Iraqi tanks made the corniche off-limits until the liberation. "Little by little, we will try to get our lives back to normal," said Dr. Mokaddas. □

Moscow after the Ceasefire

ELISABETH RUBINFIEN



IN THE midst of the Soviet Union's 11th-hour attempt at peace diplomacy in the Gulf, Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin testily defended the regime's policy. Of course it would be easier to take no risks, he said, but to do so is Moscow's obligation as a "great power."

Throughout the Gulf crisis, Soviet policy was underpinned by the sometimes plaintive desire to play the role of a great power. Under former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, that meant aligning the Soviet Union with the West to oppose the Iraqi invasion. By acting through the UN Security Council, Moscow would assure itself a place at the postwar table.

But as the conflict wore on and Mr. Shevardnadze was undermined and then ousted by hard-liners, another voice could be heard in Moscow. In a tone often tinged with nostalgia, Soviet commentators worried that the country was being reduced to a mere tail on the American dog. For this camp, true superpower status meant separation from Washington.

The Gorbachev peace bid, stage-managed by the president's personal envoy, Yevgeny Primakov, was essentially an expression of Moscow's yearning to be free. But when that initiative threatened to bring an open

Miss Rubinfien is a Moscow correspondent for the Wall Street Journal.

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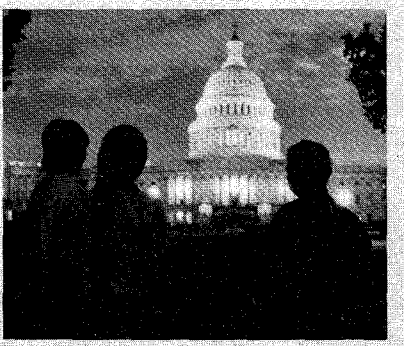
CONSERVATIVE ENERGY



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split with Washington, Mikhail Gorbachev and his advisors pulled back. Saving Saddam, in the end, wasn't worth losing Washington.

Now, after the allied victory, the Soviets are grappling with what superpowerdom means when one's economy is a disaster, one's military hardware has been denigrated, and one's diplomacy has proved inadequate.

SOVIET military men are clearly worried by their close look at NATO's performance against the largely Soviet-armed and -trained Iraqi military. "The echo of missile thunder in the desert must put us on our guard," Colonel-General R. Akchurin told the official news agency, TASS. Ironically, the allied victory may ultimately help reformers who are calling for a smaller, higher-tech, and more professional military.

The issue of what kind of military to build is closely linked to the Soviet Union's broader foreign-policy aims. "It's impossible to have a modern army and modern weapons when you're living in an obsolete country," says Sergei Blagovolin, head of the military department of the influential Institute for World Economy and International Relations. "The only way to receive more or less high-proof security is to try to use the new relationship with the Western world for real cooperation in the economy as well as military to create a common security structure that could even include a division of labor of military forces."

Mr. Blagovolin's vision of cooperation is far too radical for most Kremlin policy-makers. But many Soviets worried about President Bush's clenched-tooth expression of gratitude for their diplomacy, and they are eager to repair the damage. The Soviet Union has remained firmly in line with the coalition in its postwar moves.

Ultimately, the Soviets' intervention probably helped them more than it hurt. Internationally, the U.S. and Britain seem willing—at least in public—to put aside suspicion in favor of cooperation. The European Community has decided to proceed with aid plans that it had frozen after the January crackdown against the independence-minded Baltic republics. Arab nations (including Iraq's current enemies) and Third World allies appreciate the effort, Soviet experts say.

Domestically, although President Gorbachev didn't come away the hero of the day, the venture gave a slight boost to his sagging popularity. The public was fed a steady media diet of the destruction caused to Iraq by allied bombing, and many people were relieved that their own leaders looked for other alternatives.

Indeed, Mr. Primakov has taken a proud and defensive tone in an important four-part series in *Pravda*, "The War That Should Never Have Happened." Colleagues describe Mr. Primakov as an ambitious man who for years has admired the shuttle diplomacy of Henry Kissinger. As Mr. Primakov shuttled back and forth to Iraq, it appeared as if the boldly named "Gorbachev peace plan" might involve the Kremlin's cozying up to its longtime ally Saddam with promises of a "secret side package," probably including a promise of greater linkage to other regional problems than the U.S. would accept. But Mr. Primakov always insisted no such linkage was offered. In his series he maintains that the U.S. was informed about the negotiations every step of the way.

But it is in military circles that the real hand-wringing can be seen. The strength of the coalition and the speed of its victory gives new ammunition to military leaders who have long resisted any cuts in defense spending or troop size. In an interview with the army daily *Red Star*, Oleg Losik, marshal of Soviet tank forces, worried: "We are one-on-one with a military force that is 150 per cent to 200 per cent stronger." Losik warns that the U.S., having had proof of its military power, may try to show off with direct aggression against the Soviet Union. Or it may use its military superiority as a threat: "Is this not the reason why some have been brazenly interfering in Soviet internal affairs recently, trying to tell us what to do and what not to do?"

SUCH CONCERNS have serious implications for the conventional-forces and strategic-arms treaties that both sides hoped to have signed by now. In particular, analysts say, the significant role played by naval forces and artillery in the Gulf could stiffen the Soviet position in the talks. Against the Soviets' will, the U.S. has always refused to include naval forces in discussions of conventional forces in Europe, or sea-launched cruise missiles in the strategic-arms negotiations.

Some military leaders are defensively denying that the Iraqi defeat revealed weaknesses in Soviet defense equipment or strategy. The problem, they argue, was the Iraqi soldiers. Others petulantly doubt the scale of the allied success. "I do not believe official reports on the coalition losses," Colonel Nikolai Petrushenko, a leader of the hard-liner *Soyuz* (Union) group of parliament members, defensively told TASS. "Only a very naïve person can believe that during a month and half of preparations for the war, the U.S. lost eighty people, while more than a month of hostilities claimed a total of seventy men killed or wounded."

But more level-headed military leaders figure they had better go back to the drawing board. Since World War II, Soviet military doctrine has emphasized the use of infantry and huge amounts of armor, backed by the firepower of massed artillery. The Iraqis, largely trained by Soviet experts, fought the war on this premise. The main lesson for the Soviet army, Colonel Aleksandr Tsalko told TASS, was "that huge amounts of armored vehicles, tanks, and artillery pieces were absolutely useless." Even Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov told parliament that the success of U.S. air attacks against ground forces "necessitates a review of the attitude to army air defense and the country's entire air-defense system."

The Gulf War also lends power to advocates of a switch from conscription to a professional army—an aspect of military reform that captures the attention not only of generals but of soldiers and civilians. Young officers are impressively up-to-date on the salaries their counterparts command in the United States. A growing number of potential draftees, meanwhile, are simply refusing to show up for service.

Two days after the allied victory in the Gulf, at a public swimming pool in Moscow, a group of well-muscled young men were trading tales of reported U.S. military prowess. An attractive middle-aged woman broke in accusingly: "You know, if guys like you would just serve in our army, we could perform like that too." The retort was swift and unanimous: "Well, if they'd just pay us like they do over there, we'd join." □

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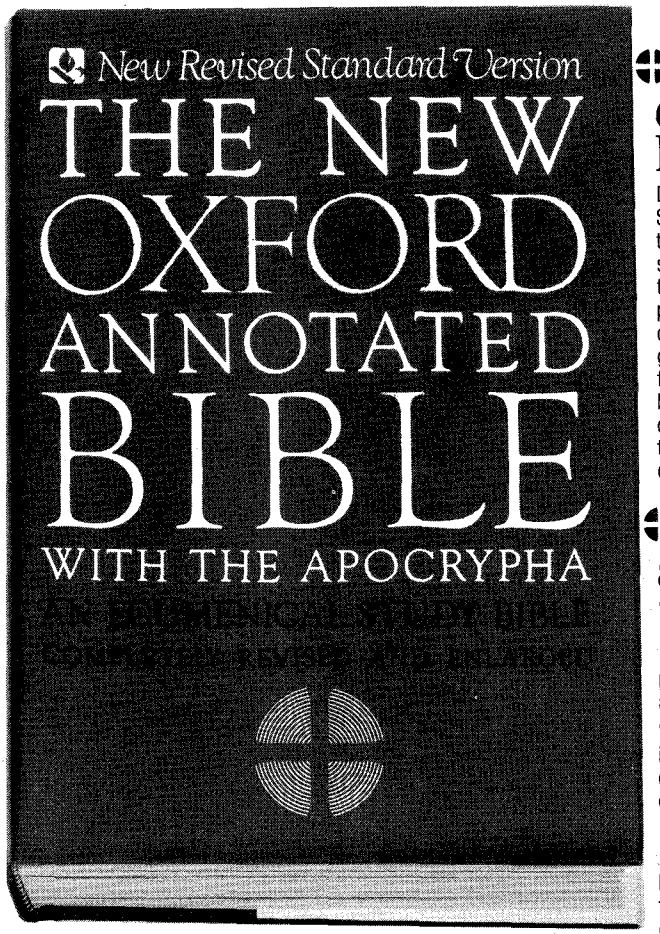

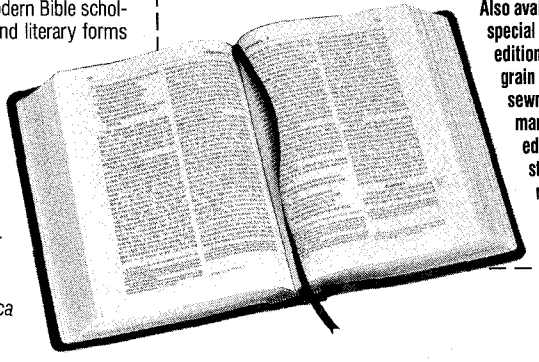

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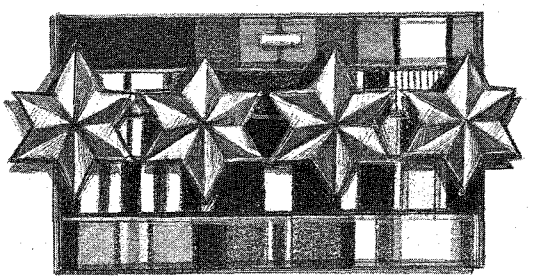

Colin Powell has long been a popular choice in the political hot-stove league. Now everyone in America knows his name. Next stop: the White House?

JOHN RANELAGH

"FIRST we're going to cut it off, and then we're going to kill it." The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was describing allied strategy for dealing with the 540,000-strong Iraqi army in Kuwait and southern Iraq one week after the Gulf War started. His language was politic: following initial euphoria, Americans wanted reassurance that the war, although it might take a while, was going to be won.

The phrase revealed the man. It was not part of a scripted speech, but was delivered in a televised press briefing as Powell pointed at maps and photographs. "Trust me, trust me," he had said to aides who were worried about his speaking off the cuff. It was confident and came spontaneously because it is how he thinks: directly, clearly, matter-of-factly. It projected toughness without exulting in the prospect of bloodshed.

Powell is the first soldier in forty years to be viewed as a potential serious contender for the Presidency of the United States (*pace* Al Haig and Curtis LeMay). He was 52 when he was appointed chairman in 1989, and is the youngest officer to serve in the post. He is the third man since World War II to reach four-star rank without ever being a divisional commander (Eisenhower and Haig were the other two). He was born in Harlem and raised in the South Bronx. His father was a shipping clerk and his mother was a seamstress. Twenty-eight years ago there were large parts of the United States where he could not go into a restaurant.

To examine Powell through the lens of color, however, is to look down a blind alley, and this is of his own making. He is proud of being black, identifying quietly and unpolitically with black causes. "I tell young blacks that even more is expected of you. Don't let your blackness, your minority status, be a problem to you. Let it be a problem to somebody else . . . Don't use it as an excuse for your own shortcomings. If you work hard, do the best you can, take advantage of every opportunity that's put in front of you, success will come your way." It was reported that he had been invited to lead the Martin Luther King Day parade this January and had accepted, but that the civil-rights leadership forced his withdrawal because they regarded him as insufficiently politicized (the excuse given was that a military man would detract from the peaceful themes associated with Dr. King). He is a member of the army's "Rocks" organization of black officers, but has never played the black card. Because of this he has not been treated by others as the fulfillment of a quota. "I didn't know I was a minority," he says.

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Black Elite

MANY BLACKS, in fact, are bemused by Powell. He is very much a West Indian American and as such is a member of an elite that has produced such figures as Marcus Garvey and Shirley Chisholm. Careers in the colonial West Indies were far more open to the talents, and one hundred years ago blacks of ability could expect to reach very senior positions there. "Most West Indians are high Anglicans, the same as high Episcopalians—the higher the better," Powell says. "Their value system is a combination of the family and the British tradition, which was strong in Jamaica. They never forgot that they were British subjects. This makes them somewhat different from other American blacks."

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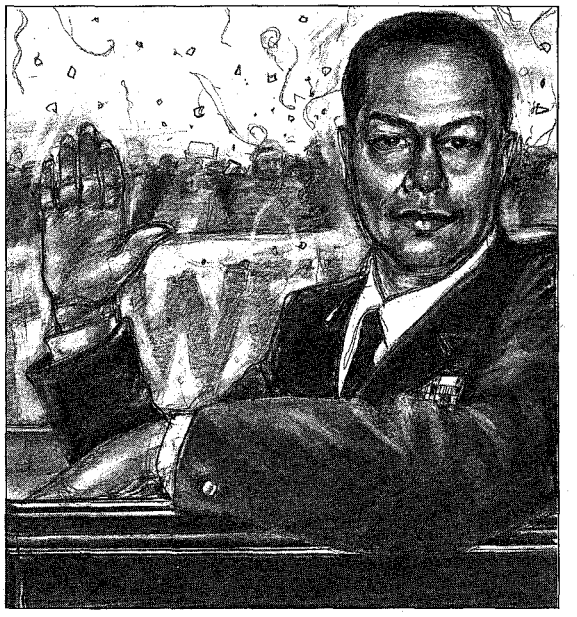
That is Powell being typically positive and diplomatic, but also showing his awareness that he possesses two cultures. "So General Colin Powell was born in Harlem, to British citizens, Jamaican, working-class immigrant parents," wrote a reader of a British profile of Powell. "His good fortune that they took the New York rather than the Southampton boat. If they had, he might have made sergeant, that is, providing he did not try for a Guards regiment." Powell knows how true this is, and it echoes in his style, his attitudes, and his decision-making. It makes him a passionate believer in traditional American values.

Powell is seen as the chief architect of Desert Storm, as Norman Schwarzkopf was its chief executor. Victory has gone a long way to restoring American prestige and self-confidence, and in the public mind much of the credit for this, too, goes to Powell.



In fact, the chairman of the JCS is not in the line of command. It flows from the President to the secretary of defense to the field commander, whereas the chairman of the JCS is the chief military advisor to the President. Powell's political and diplomatic ability, however, and his public performances have promoted him in the public mind to the extent that his personal authority is seen as dominating military matters.

And this is right. Powell's contribution to Desert Storm was vital. He is the master manager of the doctrine, developed in the 1970s with a European war in mind, that integrated land and air power holds the key to victory. This doctrine was employed to devastating effect against Iraq; the Soviets have announced, in consequence, that they are reviewing their air defenses.

More than implementing a successful doctrine, Powell brought his cultural awarenesses to bear in an analysis of the United States that has resulted in his commitment to a quantitative approach to military affairs. Powell understands that America tends to substitute quantity for quality, to throw enormous resources at problems. So last fall he told the President at Camp David that a Gulf War could be won, but that time for massive military deployments would be required. Earlier, over Panama, he said much the same. When he visited the Gulf in February before the land offensive began, he came back to Washington saying that more time was needed for more air strikes. He wants technology to do the job for two reasons: first, he does not want to see Americans wounded and killed; second, he probably does not think that Americans are very good soldiers of the slogging kind. He has clearly assessed America's strengths and weaknesses and has acted accordingly, rather than take popular American self-images, whether they be Ramboesque or Carteresque. Powell has reached the very top of his profession without being a West Pointer, the first chairman of the Joint Chiefs in 25 years not to be an Academy man. He graduated from City College, New York, with a degree in geology in 1958. Many of his classmates were Jewish and from poorer homes. Academic standards were high when he was there, and immigrant aspirations bubbled still. In comparison to others in his class, he was not so hot scholastically, but this should not be seen as diagnostic: he is very intelligent in a non-intuitive way. He scored A's in ROTC. But CCNY was not a seedbed of the American brass.

When he joined up in 1958, the very most a black could hope for was to be a brigadier. "I was told, 'If you do everything well and keep your nose clean for twenty years, we'll make you a lieutenant colonel.' That was my goal," he recalls. In 1963 he was refused service in a fast-food restaurant in Columbus, Georgia. "I wasn't even trying to do a sit-in. All I wanted was a hamburger." He waited six months until the Civil Rights Act was signed, went back and got his hamburger. "Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves," he observes, "but it was Martin Luther King who freed the whites, who freed the American people. The real civil war was fought in the 1960s." He served twice in Vietnam, was a White House fellow in 1972, and was a battalion commander in South Korea. In between stints working for Charles Duncan, Carter's deputy secretary of defense, and Frank Carlucci, Reagan's national security advisor, he commanded an army corps in Germany.

Sounding Brass

GENERALS who are war heroes are almost the only people who have become President of the United States without first having held some other elective office. Ten generals have been elected President: eight in the last century and one in this. Two more—Andrew Johnson and Chester A. Arthur—have succeeded to the Presidency. Every one of the generals elected had been a combat commander (even Franklin Pierce): that was their distinction. Powell, through no fault of his, has never held senior combat command, although he holds six combat medals including the Purple Heart. (During his second tour of duty in Vietnam he was in a helicopter crash and pulled his colleagues to safety.) He is being talked about as a potential President out of distinction in the public service, an extraordinary phenomenon in a country long suspicious of government and its servants.

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This is partly a consequence of the civil and the military sectors converging at the highest levels. Top soldiers have become executives, with PhDs and professional qualifications. Admiral Poindexter, with a doctorate in nuclear physics, was thought until Iran–Contra to be a shoe-in for the Joint Chiefs' chairmanship. Powell has an MBA from George Washington University. Soldiers have steadily been drawn closer to higher levels of civilian policy-making as the practicalities of solving cold-war problems so often involved military expertise.

In Powell's case the central point is that a man who has had none of the charge-and-trumpets glamor in his military career impresses to such a degree the men and women he has worked with in the army, in the Nixon and Reagan White Houses, in the Pentagon, on the Hill—wherever, in fact, he has appeared. People he has worked closely with, across the political divide, are his greatest admirers. "The rule I follow was given to me by one of my mentors, Charles Duncan," he says with a smile. "When I told him something awful had happened, he said, 'Well, Colin, if all else fails and we have no choice, tell the truth.' " In 1987 he became security advisor himself. He speaks of being thrust among "all those politicians—me, a soldier."

He was Reagan's sixth national security advisor, inheriting an NSC staff reorganized by Frank Carlucci (whose deputy he was) after Iran–Contra. Powell chose to build on Carlucci's achievement, not looking for major changes. "It was both Frank's and Colin's practice to call the senior staff people in to talk to the President once or twice a week," said a senior staffer from the Reagan White House. "They were confident of themselves. They didn't have big egos, so they didn't mind staffers speaking directly to the President. This cloak of secrecy that had somehow been engendered prior to Iran–Contra, they didn't have any use for."

Citizen Powell

POWELL is an authoritative public servant, energetic without being noisy, having presence without drama. There is no Powell myth, and he does not radiate MacArthur-like ambition. Al Haig, brave and dashing, was always felt to be a political soldier; his "I am in command" announcement after President Reagan was shot confirmed people's suspicion. Powell, in contrast, is in the great tradition of Marshall and Eisenhower: citizen-soldiers entirely at ease in civilian society. In photographs of the President among his advisors at Camp David, and in group photographs at the White House, Powell is usually to be seen in casual clothes, positioned at the end of the group, smiling, unflappable, unchallenging, projecting friendliness and simplicity.

Yet any person who becomes chairman of the Joint Chiefs has great ambition and political dexterity. In Powell's case, this is emphasized by the fact that President Bush appointed him over the objections of the military top brass, who thought him too young—and too close to the White House. Admiral Arthur Radford was once asked to run for the Senate from New Jersey, and said he'd like to, but he loved politics too much. Powell is a first-class bureaucratic politician. "I believe the entire professional military establishment was disturbed by his appointment," said Admiral Eugene Carroll. "Looking at General Powell's career record, it is clear that he was picked out early for a more important role in life than getting his boots dirty."

"It's a bum rap," says Ken Adelman, who worked with Powell in the Reagan years. "They mistrust him because he's ready to say, 'Let's get the job done.' All previous [JCS chairmen] I've seen have been great naysayers. They've instantly got 85 reasons why you can't do something. It's Colin's great skill to show you the four or five ways you can."

"I didn't refuse this job," Powell says somewhat disingenuously, "but neither did I go out looking for it."

It all sounds too good to be true. The self-discipline, self-effacement, and perpetual goodwill that make him remarkable make it hard to get a fix on the man. He has presence, but you never hear how it issues. He is said to have humor, but no one says what jokes he tells. Colleagues have found it difficult to tell which party he identifies with. They describe him as "conservative," and he admits to liking John Wayne movies. He has worked most closely with Republicans. Is he a realistic prospect for the White House?

Right-wingers find Powell congenial because they are copybook-maxim people, and so is he: work hard; don't care about the color of someone's skin; try to look facts in the eye. But the fire in his belly is a different kind of fire: he is non-ideological, comparing in this respect most directly to Eisenhower. He believes that he is an American, and that the task of the country is to assimilate people as Americans, and after that it's up to each of them individually.

Nonetheless, the very prospect of a Vice President Powell or President Powell has already marginalized radical black politicians such as Jackson and Dellums, largely because there is a certain relief at being able to deal at last with a "wasp" black. Voters in Virginia, electing Douglas Wilder, showed that policies now matter more than color. But the pull of the radicals has always been with the black underclass, not with commentators or Virginians or the average voter. Powell and Wilder are a reproach to the radicals and their supporters because they are where they are on merit, not positive discrimination. Powell stands out because this has been the essence of his career.

Powell's own political future is highly uncertain. There is no reason to believe that he wants to be President, and the only way you get to be President is by wanting to be. He probably would not welcome the hustings. He has got ahead by being appointed by selection boards of no more than five people. To cast himself on an electorate of 150 million people could be too big a change for him. On the other hand, he is now in the public eye and has handled himself well. He may develop a taste for it. □

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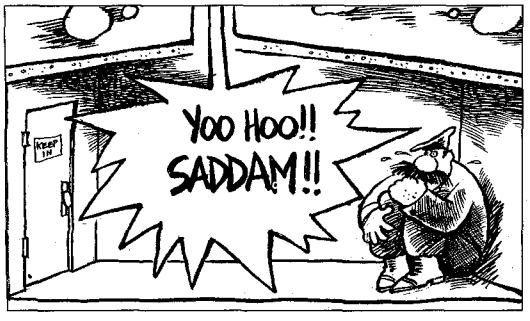
HOW THE WAR WAS WON



Shaping the peace may well prove harder than winning the war. But before we turn to the problems the U.S. and its allies will face in the months ahead, an analysis of the magnificent success of Desert Storm.

TREVOR N. DUPUY

A PRELIMINARY analysis of the Kuwait War suggests that of the components of the remarkable outcome, seven were particularly significant. While some might disagree, I rank these in relative order of importance as follows:

1. Air-power superiority of the UN forces.
2. Relative combat effectiveness of UN and Iraqi forces.
3. Leadership and planning (or professionalism).
4. Logistical virtuosity.
5. Technological superiority.
6. Intelligence competence.
7. Intelligence denial.

Except for the first two, I would not quarrel with any change in the order of relative importance. These factors are, of course, essentially descriptive of the performance of the U.S. forces. The *political* significance of the international composition of the coalition forces cannot be overstated. With all due respect to some exceptional contributions by most of our allies, however, militarily all aspects of this war were dominated by U.S. forces.

Let's look at each of these factors in some detail.

1. Air-Power Superiority. The single most significant aspect of the victory was the role played by air power, from beginning to end. The circumstances were extremely favorable to the employment of air power. These included the size and excellence of the allies' air forces in comparison with the Iraqis', the geography favoring target acquisition, and the limited road and rail networks in Iraq. Before the war I predicted that these and other special circumstances "just might" permit the allied air forces to win the war without any significant employment of ground forces. And if time, ammunition, patience, and human tolerance had all been unlimited, eventually the air campaign alone could have compelled an Iraqi surrender.

As it was, this war proved, as never before, that air forces alone cannot defeat a ground enemy in any except the most unusual circumstances. Few airmen had claimed that they could, although there were probably few who did not hope that they might.

But if the war demonstrated a clear limitation on the capability of air power, it also demonstrated its vital importance in modern military conflict, and its pre-eminence under some circumstances. In this war air power was without question the most important single component of the UN victory, and it was the principal reason for the most astonishing aspect of that outcome: incredibly low casualties on the part of the forces supported by overwhelming air power.

Let me digress briefly on this aspect of the war. The table on the next page presents "Selected Comparative Casualty Statistics." I have included the Battle of the Little Big Horn in that comparison because the U.S. 7th Cavalry Regiment lost more than twice as many men killed on the first day of that engagement as the 530,000 personnel of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines lost in the entire 43 days of the Kuwait War.

Note that not only were our casualties in this war fewer than in our previously least costly war, the Spanish–American War, but the casualty *rate* was less than *one-tenth* the rate in the Spanish–American War.

Before the war, using a computerized combat simulation, I estimated that U.S. casualties in a war to liberate Kuwait would be about 5,800, of whom about 1,150 would be killed. That is a daily rate of 0.025 per cent, or a rate midway between the Spanish–American and the Vietnam Wars. This was far lower than the rates projected by models in use in and for the Pentagon, and I was widely criticized for underestimating casualties. Yet my low estimate was 15 times higher than what actually occurred.

There were two reasons for this unusually low casualty rate. One is that

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Selected Comparative Casualty Statistics

War or Battle	Theater Strength	KIA	WIA	Total Casualties	Casualties Per Day*
Civil War *4 years*	400,000	69,000	318,200	387,200	0.07
Little Big Horn *2 days*	600	257	44	301	25.08
Spanish–American *8 months*	50,000	272	1,600	1,872	0.02
World War I *6 months*	990,000	37,568	224,089	261,657	0.45
World War II *3 years*	1,500,000	175,407	625,328	800,735	0.05
Korean War *3 years*	220,000	19,453	77,788	97,241	0.04
Vietnam War *5 years*	240,000	23,373	104,032	127,405	0.03
Kuwait War *6 weeks*	530,000	111	256	367	0.0016

*As a percentage of theater strength.

the terrible pounding Iraqi troops received from our air forces degraded their effectiveness even more than I had allowed for in my model. Secondly, the normal Iraqi combat effectiveness was probably even lower than I had projected. Which brings us to the second of my seven major components of victory.

2. Combat Effectiveness. Iraqi forces had been engaged in five conflicts in the half-century before the Kuwait War, and had performed poorly in each. In the 1973 Arab–Israeli War, for instance, a comparison with respect to Israeli forces showed that 100 Israeli soldiers were the combat-effectiveness equivalent of about 330 Iraqi soldiers with comparable equipment. The average for the other Arab armies was about 100 Israelis for 200 Arabs. I had assumed that eight years of battle experience against Iran had brought the Iraqis' capability up to the Arab average. So I gave them this standard combat effectiveness in comparison to American troops, who I assumed were at least the equal of the Israelis. Clearly, I had overestimated their capability.

3. Leadership and Planning. When things go wrong on the battlefield, this is usually because of poor planning, poor execution, and/or enemy interference with execution of plans. When things go well on the battlefield it means that the plans were good, the execution was good, and there was minimal enemy interference with the operation. This, of course, was the case with Operation Desert Storm.

The United States Armed Forces operate in a fashion consistent with the General Staff system introduced in Prussia in 1809, which attracted the world's attention by its stunning victories over Austria in 1866 and France in 1870. In a General Staff system it is rarely possible to determine whether good performance in planning—and in execution—is due to the staff system and the quality of the people on the staff, or due to the genius of the commander. But since the commander is responsible, and would be blamed in case of failure, it is only proper that he be given the credit for success. Thus General Schwarzkopf must be given credit for one of the most stunning and one-sided victories in the history of warfare.

He and his staff applied a doctrine which the U.S. Army and Air Force adopted about ten years ago: the AirLand Battle Doctrine. The doctrine is both new and old. It is new to the extent that it endeavors to take maximum advantage of the most modern developments in technology, in terms of firepower, mobility, and electronics. It is old because it emphasizes the application of the new technologies in accordance with the classic Principles of War, which characterized the successful battles of such great captains as Alexander the Great and Hannibal. (See box.)

All nine of the Principles of War were employed to good effect in the brief ground campaign of Desert Storm, but two stand out: Maneuver and Surprise.

Maneuver was the hallmark of the great strategic envelopment carried out by the U.S. XVIII Airborne and VII Corps.

Surprise contributed to this remarkably successful maneuver. One aspect was deception, in the feints in which two Marine Expeditionary Brigades (MEBs) afloat in the Persian Gulf threatened an amphibious invasion of the Kuwaiti coast. As a result, six or seven Iraqi divisions were kept on constant alert along that seacoast, and were unable to help deal with the massive envelopment of western Kuwait by the U.S. VII Corps.

Another manifestation of surprise was the quiet, unobtrusive movement of the VII Corps and XVIII Airborne to positions just south of the Saudi–Iraqi border, far to the west of Kuwait.

4. Logistical Virtuosity. That great two-corps envelopment would not have been possible without logistical performance that was little short of miraculous. The movement of supplies—particularly fuel and ammunition—enabled the nine divisions of those corps not only to go swiftly across the trackless desert in an extremely bold maneuver, but also to maintain the momen-

Principles of War

1. *Objective.* Every military operation must be directed toward a decisive, obtainable objective.
2. *Offensive.* Only offensive action achieves decisive results.
3. *Simplicity.* Simplicity must be the keynote of military operations.
4. *Unity of Command.* The decisive application of full combat power requires unity of command.
5. *Mass.* Maximum available combat power must be applied at the point of decision.
6. *Economy of Forces.* Minimum essential means must be employed at points other than that of decision.
7. *Maneuver.* Maneuver must be used to alter the relative combat power of military forces.
8. *Surprise.* Surprise may decisively shift the balance of combat power in favor of the commander who achieves it.
9. *Security.* Security is essential to the application of the other principles of war.

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tum of their advance for four days. It was a logistical achievement that has never been surpassed, and it is worthy of comparison with the even larger—but no more successful—logistical effort that supported the allied cross-Channel assault in Operation Overlord in June 1944.

This, however, was merely the culmination of a seven-month logistical effort which began with the first movement of U.S. and allied troops to Saudi Arabia in early August 1990. It was an accomplishment which is at least worthy of comparison with the vast buildup in Great Britain before Overlord. The quantities in Desert Storm were not so great, but the time available was much shorter, and there was no indigenous production capability or industrial and transportation infrastructures such as existed in Britain.

5. Technological Superiority. Some may believe that I have underrated the contribution of technology to the victory. They may be right. I cannot deny the significance of the U.S. technological edge with such "smart" weapons as Tomahawk, Hellfire, and Patriot; such versatile mobile systems as the M1A1 Abrams Tank and the Bradley Infantry Fighting Vehicle; and the amazing variety of sophisticated, computer-controlled electronic systems. However, these weapons would have been meaningless without trained and capable men to employ them to their maximum potential, and leadership to commit them at the right time and place.

There is no doubt in my mind that if the U.S. forces had fought with the weapons and equipment of the Iraqi forces, and if the Iraqis had fought with ours, the outcome would have been exactly the same; although the war probably would have lasted longer than 43 days, and our casualties would have been greater.

6. Intelligence Competence. It is no exaggeration to say that the results of Operation Desert Storm could not have been achieved without highly skilled intelligence systems at all levels, and linked from top to bottom. Acquiring targets, assessing bomb damage, identifying and locating enemy units are only a few of the myriad means by which intelligence staffs provide their commanders with reasonably accurate and comprehensive pictures of enemy capabilities. The unvarying success of the air and ground efforts of UN forces testify to the quality of the detailed information compiled by the intelligence staffs about the terrain, and about enemy dispositions and capabilities.

7. Intelligence Denial. Possibly equally important—and some believe more so—was the denial of intelligence capability to the enemy. This was in large part, of course, an automatic result of the destruction of the Iraqi communications facilities and network. By the time the land campaign began, the Iraqi ground forces were virtually blind. They had little or no idea of the location of the UN forces, or of the movements that might have given them some inkling of the U.S. strategy. Thanks to intelligence denial, they were sitting ducks.

A final word. One might ask: If we so outclassed the enemy, how can this be considered a great victory?

There are no great victories in war unless one side has a significant superiority in one or more respects, *and is able to take advantage of that superiority*. There are no great victories when evenly matched armies and commanders face each other. The 1864 campaign between Grant and Lee in Northern Virginia is only one example. No one has better explained this phenomenon of great victories better than the renowned German military theorist, Count Alfred von Schlieffen. In his classic book *Cannae*, he wrote: "A complete battle of Cannae is rarely met in history. For its achievement, a Hannibal is needed on the one side, and a Terentius Varro on the other, both cooperating for the attainment of the great goal." □

WHAT NOT TO DO NEXT

RUNNING INTO THE SAND

J. B. KELLY

". . . The Arabs consider that they are the victims of a shameful injustice. Iraq and Saddam will henceforth embody, in an imperishable fashion, the spirit of resistance and the refusal to accept what, because one is an Arab, is the calamity of bending the knee."

—Sid Ahmad Ghozali, foreign minister of Algeria, March 4, 1991

ONE OF the less edifying sights in recent weeks has been that of French politicians of every stripe scurrying around the capitals of the Maghreb, anxiously reassuring the Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians of France's undiminished esteem and affection for them, despite the anti-French demonstrations in Algiers, Rabat, and Tunis provoked by the French participation in the war against Iraq. Uninspiring though the spectacle has been, it has at least had the merit of providing a twofold warning to the United States: of how not to behave in the months ahead in making arrangements for the future security of the Gulf, and of how some of America's partners in the anti-Iraq coalition can be expected to behave.

The present situation at the head of the Gulf bears a distant resemblance to that which followed the military defeat of the Ottoman empire seventy-odd years ago. The *vilayets* of Basra and Baghdad were under British military administration, which was in the process of being extended to the *vilayet* of Mosul in the north. To the eastward, Persia was in a state of upheaval, due in part to the effects of the Great War, in part to Shi'i agitation, but most of all to the incapacity of the Qajar shah to govern his country. To the north the nascent Soviet Union was wracked by civil war, its economy was foundering, and its sovereignty was being impaired by foreign intervention. To the southwest the sultanate of Najd (the forerunner of present-day Saudi Arabia) and the sheikhdom of Kuwait had taken advantage of the war to throw off the remnants of Turkish suzerainty, to place them-

Mr. Kelly's Arabia, the Gulf, and the West *is being reissued by Basic Books.*

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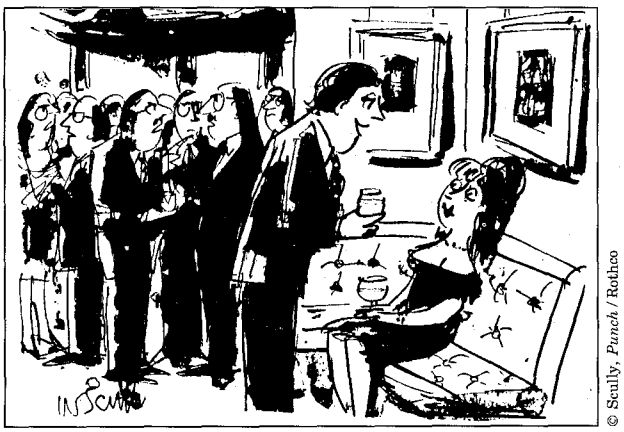
selves under British protection, and to reap the dual financial benefit of British subsidies and profits from running the British blockade of the Turkish Arabian provinces. Finally, France was staking her claim to dominion over Syria and a share, if not a monopoly, of the oil of Mosul.

Something obviously had to be done to impose order on Turkish Iraq and the upper Gulf, and the only power in a position to do anything was Britain. Acting, in the first instance, by right of conquest, and afterward on the authority of the mandate conferred on her by the League of Nations, Britain united the three former Turkish *vilayets* into the kingdom of Iraq, installed the Hashemite prince Faisal Ibn Hussein as its sovereign, and laid down the frontiers of the new state. In 1932 Britain relinquished the mandate and Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations as a fully independent state.

Lines in the Sand

BRITAIN'S definition of the frontiers of Iraq with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia has been the subject of much heated comment in recent months, the burden of the complaints being that these frontiers were "arbitrarily drawn" lines on the map, devised by Britain for her own "imperialist purposes" and imposed upon the people of the area "regardless of their wishes." What criticism of this kind ignores is, in the first place, that the frontiers of the Arab successor states of the former Ottoman empire *had* to be drawn upon the empire's dissolution, and that Britain alone, as the mandatory power in Iraq and the protecting power in Kuwait and Najd, had the legal right to do so. In the second place, the boundaries of Iraq, Kuwait, and Najd were not arbitrarily conceived lines, languidly plucked from the ether, as it were, by the Machiavellian figure of Sir Percy Cox, the British high commissioner in Iraq. On the contrary, they were drawn in consultation with the Arab leaders concerned, and with the knowledge acquired by British officers of the old Indian Political Service, of whom Cox was one, from a century's experience of eastern and northern Arabia.

While the United States may not stand today in exactly the same position as Britain stood in at the end of the war with Turkey, nevertheless the very magnitude of her victory over Iraq imposes on her an obligation to do something to regulate the affairs of the upper Gulf. To start with, steps have to be taken to bring Saddam Hussein to trial before an international tribunal for war crimes. Is he to have a free hand to continue to wipe out resistance in lower Iraq? Is the dispute over the Iraq–Kuwait frontier, which was the pretext for his invasion last August, to be left unresolved? It has been remarked throughout the ages how once the battle is over an eerie silence descends upon the battlefield: so too has a profound silence fallen concerning the United States Government's intentions in the territories where the recent campaign was fought. Instead, the Bush Administration, with scarcely a pause for breath, has vaulted from the Gulf to the Mediterranean in pursuit of the *ignis fatuus* of an Arab–Israeli peace settlement. The logic behind this preoccupation is baffling. Was the Arab–Israeli problem, or the Palestinian question, at the root of the crisis in the Gulf (Saddam Hussein's asseverations notwithstanding)? Were either of these issues the reason for the Iran–Iraq war or the attacks in the late 1980s on merchant shipping in the Gulf? Where is the real, as opposed to the factitious, connection?



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"May I join you? You look unconcerned about the Gulf."

What may happen in Iraq in the weeks and months ahead is anyone's guess. Most of the current speculation is focused upon the imminent or eventual breakup of the country along racial or religious fault-lines, that is to say, the secession of the Shi'i south or the Kurdish north, or possibly both, leaving the rump of a Sunni state centered on Baghdad—the re-emergence, in other words, of the old three *vilayets*. If anything of this nature should happen, it is inevitable that the reverberations from it will be felt along the shores of the Gulf. Does the United States envision having the military forces in place to cope with such an eventuality?

From the little that can be discerned of the attitude of the Bush Administration toward postwar Iraq, it would seem to be informed by a pallid hope that some form of democratic, or at least moderate, government will emerge. The prospects are not encouraging. The country has no tradition of genuine parliamentary representation, no concept of the separation of powers, no notion of constitutional guarantees—not even the idea of the individual as citizen rather than subject. Mesopotamia was the birthplace of Oriental despotism, and it has known nothing else throughout its history. In this it is little different from the rest of the Arab world. There was a time, between the two world wars, when the states of the Levant and the Fertile Crescent, pushed by Britain and France, flirted with constitutions, parliaments, and independent judiciaries. The flirtation did not survive the departure of the British and French, except in the case of Lebanon. Every change of regime that has occurred in the other Arab states since 1945 has been accomplished by a coup d'état, military *Putsch*, or palace revolution. It could not be otherwise, for no constitutional machinery exists for a peaceful transition from one group to another.

Nor has there been a popular revolution, in the true sense of the term, in any Arab state over the past half-century—or longer, for that matter. The mobs that gather in the street to applaud the new *rais* and his junta are not the *sans-culottes* of the French Revolution celebrating their deliverance from enlightened despotism. They are simply hailing the latest successor in the line of Oriental despots. Nor is this to be wondered at, for both the political tradition of the Middle East and the prescriptions of Islam require the Arab masses to give unques-

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tioning obedience to the ruler set above them. It is vain, therefore, to look for a *levée en masse*, as opposed to riots and occasional tumults, by the Arabs of Iraq to install any kind of liberal democratic regime.

Warning: Diplomats Ahead

WHAT OF the future security of the Gulf itself? There is a great babble of voices to be heard, adjuring the United States to regulate the affairs of the Gulf according to the desires of the Saudis, Kuwaitis, Iranians, Syrians, Egyptians, and Palestinians. These assorted demands and supplications, along with the much-touted international conference on the Middle East, the proposal by President Mitterrand for a *tête-à-tête* of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and the clamor for the United Nations to take charge of the postwar settlement in the Gulf, have one overriding purpose, which is to deprive the United States of her freedom of action to make whatever dispositions she considers necessary for the future security of the Gulf and the protection of Western interests there.

The opportunity the United States has at the moment to impose order upon the Gulf is an incomparable one, yet she seems diffident about seizing it. Apart from announcing *sotto voce* that it intends to retain a naval presence, backed by air power, in the vicinity of the Gulf, and to store military matériel in some (unspecified) Gulf states, the United States Government seems content to leave the defense of the Gulf primarily to the local powers. At least, this is the impression one gains from what is known of the Bush Administration's reaction to the conclave at Damascus earlier this month, when the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, led by Saudi Arabia, arranged with Syria and Egypt to create a Gulf security force largely composed of Syrian and Egyptian troops. The mind reels. Did the United States, Britain, and France fight a war with Iraq to plant Syria on the Gulf? Does Hafez Assad cherish any less dangerous ambitions than Saddam Hussein? Would he not be well placed, with a Syrian army contingent stationed, say, in Kuwait, to achieve by sap what Saddam tried to accomplish by storm? Have the Gulf states, which for all their gasconade and demented piling up of arms over the years proved utterly incapable of defending themselves when the time came, become competent overnight to preserve the peace of the Gulf, even with their Egyptian grenadiers? The pact fabricated at Damascus may have been inspired, in some measure, by fear of Iran, which has been huffing and puffing of late about her manifest destiny to control the Gulf's waters and her refusal to allow a Western naval presence there. But Iran is of no military consequence today, and in any case Teheran, whether under the Qajars, the Pahlavis, or the ayatollahs, has always looked with a baleful eye upon Western naval forces in the Gulf.

Although one is reluctant to entertain the idea, it could be that the Bush Administration has been impressed by all the ancient bugaboos that have been dusted off and waved about these past months to deter the United States, and those of her Western allies who might be inclined to share the task, from retaining military forces in the Gulf itself. To do so, we have been solemnly assured by those who know about these things, will be to bring down upon our heads the wrath of Islam and the Arab world, to sow the seeds of future *jihads*, and to imperil the very interests we seek to preserve. We seem to have heard all this before, for at least thirty years, and most recently from the *rais* of Baghdad. But just as "the mother of all battles" miscarried, so do these dire warnings amount to little more than ritual bombast. The hatred of the West current in certain Arab circles, being visceral rather than rational in nature, simply has to be accepted as a fact of life. (For the Arab masses the West is merely an abstraction, which they ill understand, except as an eternal counterpoise to Islam.)

It is pointless, as well as self-defeating, to attempt to frame a policy for the security of the Gulf on the basis of what will appeal to Arab or Iranian sentiment rather than on sound strategic considerations. Too often in past years have we paid exaggerated deference to the sensibilities, real or supposed, of the rulers of the Gulf states, partly out of mercenary calculation but all too frequently because we lacked the nerve to prick the bubble of their illusions. All that such behavior achieved was to inflate their self-esteem and diminish their respect for Western resolve in corresponding degree. The inevitable outcome of such pusillanimity has been demonstrated by Saddam Hussein's aggression against Kuwait. So great had his contempt grown for the Western diplomats pandering to his dreams of glory that he believed that he could set the Western world at naught. He may yet have the last laugh, if the United States fails to use her present position of strength to reassert Western strategic control over the Gulf. □

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

NEW AMERICAN ORDER

WILLIAM McGURN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Question: What do the Democrats and the Ba'ath party have in common? Answer: They'd both like to forget about the war and concentrate on domestic policy.

This was just one of the jokes circulating in the congressional cloakroom, told to me by a House staffer whose boss was one of the eighty Democratic congressmen to vote in favor of the January 11 resolution authorizing the President to use force against Iraq. Most Democrats would like to forget about that vote, and when a victorious George Bush addressed the nation in front of a joint session of Congress it did seem that those cheering the loudest were those who had been on the wrong side. To drive the point home the Republicans wore yellow

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buttons saying, "I Voted with the President," which ABC's Cokie Roberts called "politicizing" the war. Funny, that's not what she called it when Senator Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) stacked his hearings with antiwar speakers in December, or when the entire Democratic leadership voted against the use of force. What makes it so damaging is that their failure was not individual but institutional: all the wings of the U.S. Estates-General (clergy, press, and Congress) have emerged diminished. Since Watergate and the fall of Saigon these institutions have been dominated by the Left. Whether or not we ever see a New World Order, their colossal embarrassment here certainly implies a New American Order.

Unpopular Press

TAKE the press. I happen to think that Peter Arnett's coverage from Baghdad was quite useful, and that the real fault lies with the CNN executives who at first downplayed the Iraqi censorship. But the public hostility toward Arnett was a sign of grave alienation from the press. Karlyn Keene, editor of *American Enterprise*, suggests the reason is that the public now perceives the press as a wealthy establishment class, which was not the perception during Vietnam. This was confirmed to me more directly at a baptism I attended for a college roommate's baby. When word got around that I was a member of the press a number of guests—most of them Reagan Democrats—came up and told me exactly what they thought of the Fourth Estate. Inasmuch as most were unfamiliar with *NR* there was a general inclination to regard my protests that we were not like the rest of them as but confirmation of journalistic lack of character.

They're probably more right than they know about the prevalence of that occupational disease. At least that would explain the renewed attacks on Dan Quayle—a silly *New York Times* piece by Maureen Dowd, for example, called "In Bush's Inner Circle, Quayle Still a Bit Player," and a *Newsweek* distortion of his perfectly reasonable comments about California—largely out of pique over Quayle's role, as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, in saving the Patriot missile from the Democratic axe and his work on behalf of the Reagan buildup. It was *Newsweek* again that asserted, under the headline "Full Dinner Jacket," that Quayle would be received only "politely" by troops who thought of him as a "child of privilege"; the *Washington Post* (whose company owns *Newsweek*) reported two weeks later that Quayle was greeted with "enthusiastic cheers" by the troops in Saudi Arabia, even quoting one Marine as saying the subject of his National Guard service had never come up. If the press is really interested in the inner circle, there might be a nice piece on the effect the frequent contrasts between the "war President" and the "budget President" are having on John Sununu and Dick Darman.

Then there is the clergy. The National Council of Churches suffered no loss of credibility, largely because it had no credibility left to lose. But this time even the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church—which, as the Pope repeated, is not a pacifist church—came off as being more political than the President. Although President Bush pronounced Thomas Aquinas's name as though he were some long-lost relative of the Philippine president, he did at least run through the list of just-war criteria in a remarkable speech to the National Religious Broadcasters Convention. That's more than Archbishop John Roach did when he issued a press release endorsing the Soviet peace proposal, or than John Cardinal O'Connor did when he agreed with a demonstrator in St. Patrick's Cathedral who shouted, "There are no just wars." As George Weigel, president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, points out, this meant that the serious moral arguments were almost exclusively left to laymen, something bound to have ramifications the next time the question of, say, support for El Salvador comes up.

Even conservative ranks were not without their casualties. Most prominent has to be Pat Buchanan, the subject of a biting article in the *Washington Times* by Don Kowet comparing his before and after pronouncements. (*Before:* "The war for which the neocons pant has quagmire written all over it. . . . Should the Iraqis attack . . . battles would be lost; U.S. casualties would be heavy. . . . America would find herself in a Korea-style meat-grinder." *After:* "For those who wonder what we spent all that money on during the defense buildup of the 1980s, well, now we know.") The article was all the more embarrassing because Buchanan is one of the *Times*'s most popular columnists.

Of course, Pat Buchanan wasn't alone—Bob Novak was out on that same limb—and there was no shortage of arguments from the libertarian and isolationist wings, suggesting that the Vietnam syndrome was not confined to the Left. Among the many dire predictions were that the Arab coalition would break up at the first sign of conflict; that the U.S. would suffer casualties of twenty to fifty thousand; that attacking Saddam would only make him a hero to the Iraqi masses.

There is no question the antiwar conservatives courageously advanced

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their arguments. But there's also no question that on a whole range of issues their empirical judgments were wide of the mark. In this case, however, the opposition was decidedly individual rather than institutional. Not one Republican conservative in Congress voted against the President, for example, and conservative flagships from *Human Events*, *Commentary*, *The American Spectator*, and *The National Interest* to the *Washington Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Heritage Foundation all backed the use of force. Unfortunately, the dissent of a few well-known conservative voices masked what would otherwise have been hailed as a massive victory for conservatives: a vindication of the Reagan buildup, the embarrassment of the Soviet Union, and what Bill Rusher calls the re-establishment of "the American century."

The Morning After

OVER on the Democratic side of the aisle, it's the morning after and lots of people are wishing they had let John Tower take the job after all. Its no surprise that Shadow Senator Jesse Jackson opposed the war; after all, blacks succeeding on their own merits might start people wondering what they need Jackson for anyway. Nor is it a surprise that the House and Senate leadership (Tom Foley, Richard Gephardt, William Gray, George Mitchell) lined up behind the shadow senator. But it was enlightening to see Sam Nunn revealing himself as a regular Democrat after all, as he carted notable after notable into his hearings to make his case, led by the old reliable Robert McNamara, who testified with certainty that 90 per cent of the casualties would be American.

On the other hand, most of the Democrats managed pretty well without the experts, providing what one potential Democratic presidential candidate says are "plenty of sound bites predicting woe and calamity." It's hard to know where to begin. There's Teddy Kennedy (D., Mass.): "President Bush has gone to great lengths to emphasize that if we go to war, it will not be another Vietnam-type war. But the President has missed the greatest lesson from that tragic war—that it is a grave mistake to take a divided America into war." Or Bill Bradley (D., N.J.), formerly a top contender for the presidential nomination: "I prefer, for now, to strangle Saddam Hussein with economic sanctions which cost less in terms of American lives and dollars than would a massive military invasion that costs thousands of American lives, billions of additional taxpayer dollars, and endangers our long-term interests in the world." Or Joe Biden (D., Del.): "Once Americans are asked to contemplate this question as more than a matter of whether or not Saddam Hussein is an evil man—to contemplate, that is, the reality that war could entail American deaths on a scale of thousands—support for a war policy shrinks to one-third of the American public."

Republican flacks are having a field day collecting these sound bites, and Democrats are already crying that they are shocked—*shocked*—that the Republicans might want to make political hay out of their votes. But Senator Phil Gramm (R., Tex.), the just-installed head of the Republican Senatorial Committee, has not backed down. "No one has claimed that these people are any less patriotic than the rest of us," says Gramm. "What we are saying is that at the critical moment in the most important foreign-policy judgment of the past forty years, when decisive action was needed, they weren't there." Indeed, what this vote indicates is that the suicidal McGovernite tendencies within the party are still taking their toll. Democrats are going to be reminded of that if Senator Gramm has anything to say about it, particularly because there are several Democratic senators now perceived as vulnerable at least partly because of their Gulf vote: Fritz Hollings (S.C.), Terry Sanford (N.C.), Wyche Fowler (Ga.), maybe even Tim Wirth (Colo.) and John Glenn (Ohio). All the leading presidential contenders were virtually eliminated, with the exception of Al Gore (Tenn.), who backed the President from the outset. And it's hard to imagine Sam Nunn, for example, exerting the same kind of authority over defense affairs he had before.

In the House, meanwhile, intra-Democratic relations should be interesting. While the Minority Leader, Whip, and Speaker all sided against the President, a number of powerful committee chairmen—Dan Rostenkowski, Dante Fascell, Les Aspin, Jack Brooks, among others—voted with him (not to mention Stephen Solarz). Now, being proved wrong is not going to change the Pat Schroeders. The question is whether they will be able to continue mau-mauing the moderates in the party. Les Aspin, for example, was at one point stripped of his Armed Services Committee chairmanship because he didn't toe the line, and the fear of losing it again was reflected last year in his support for the "Dukakis defense budget." In the aftermath of Desert Storm we may see the old Les Aspin re-emerge.

Meanwhile, Democrats are tempering their gushing with admonitions against Republicans using the war as "an instrument of partisan advantage." During the war-resolution debate, Majority Leader George Mitchell warned that "those senators who voted for the [Dole/Warner] resolution are voting to authorize war immediately. . . . The essence of democracy is accountability, and if immediate war occurs, that resolution and those who voted for it must share that accountability." Exactly so. □

COLD-WAR LESSONS

WINNING THE PEACE

HENRY R. NAU

THE conventional wisdom last fall was that the United States could not fight a shooting war to liberate Kuwait without breaking up the Arab–American coalition and alienating a good portion of the Moslem world. That conventional wisdom was wrong. Today the conventional wisdom is that the United States cannot lead a long-term peace effort in the

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Middle East without falling prey to the psychotic politics of that region and exhausting its own economic resources. That wisdom too is wrong.

Those considering the question of American leadership in the Gulf can profitably begin by studying America's peace-making role in Europe after World War II. The Middle East is not Europe, to be sure, but three lessons can be learned from the cold war that do apply to the Middle East: War never ensures peace. Peace is not possible without either an armed balance or a political community. And the best road to political community, behind a shield of defense, is open commerce, both within a region and between the states of that region and like-minded states elsewhere.

America left Europe in 1945 thinking that World War II had resolved the issues of peace. It had to go back in 1948 at far greater expense than if it had asked the right questions in the first place. Today, America and its allies have won a lightning war in the Persian Gulf. They will not win the peace so quickly. Yet already pundits are urging that America come home, that peacekeeping duties be taken over by UN forces, that political dialogue be left to Arab–Israeli interlocutors, and that economic reconstruction be initiated by oil-rich Arab sheikhdoms. In short, America can go back to its old over-the-horizon role, confident that war has won the peace.

These pundits repeat the mistakes of 1945. They assume that force is the *ultima ratio* in international disputes, the so-called final argument of kings. In fact, force is the beginning, not the end, of the resolution of disputes. War creates an opportunity to alter the conditions that led to war. Either that opportunity is seized or war will be repeated. Have we forgotten that the United States lost 240 Marines in Lebanon in 1984—three times the number of dead in the war just concluded?

Having made the supreme engagement for war, America should now do no less for peace. This engagement is necessary not just because of oil. Some commentators chase the illusion that if America only eliminated its energy dependence on the Middle East, it could escape the political clutches of this region. In fact, America is not in the Middle East only or even primarily for oil. It is in the Middle East to contest which political values oil will be used for in the world community. Will oil support the extremist values of fascist or totalitarian regimes, as would have been the case if Iraq (or for that matter Khomeini's Iran or Assad's Syria) had dominated the region? Or will oil promote the needs and aspirations of more moderate Middle Eastern regimes, which, if they are not now democracies, at least have a chance to become so and are willing in the meantime to cooperate with Western democracies. Sure, oil will be sold to anyone at the right price. But economic relations between adversaries are not very stable. Have we forgotten the cold-war experience with East–West trade?

To What End?

CYNICS like to reduce international politics to mere struggles for wealth and power. They ignore the different political purposes for which states use wealth and power. Europe's importance to the United States after World War II did not derive from its resources. Indeed, after sharing resources with Europe to build peace, the United States is relatively less powerful today than it was in 1945. But it succeeded in building a community of shared political purposes with Europe (and Japan). That community so magnified the collective resources of the West that the West eventually persuaded Communist governments in Eastern Europe to turn to more market-oriented and democratic policies.

The objective of America's engagement in the Middle East, therefore, has to be the development of greater political community in this region. Political community does not now exist in the Middle East, as it did not in Europe in 1945. The last significant steps toward peace—Egyptian–Israeli *rapprochement*—came in the wake of the 1973 Arab–Israeli war. The Gulf War provides another historic opportunity.

In the absence of shared political community, the first requirement is security. The United States must lead an effort to establish viable military balances within the region and constraints on arms transfers to the region. To do this, the United States need not provide large military forces of its own. But it will have to provide enough manpower and direction to midwife credible military arrangements. After all, it was American military power and leadership that liberated Kuwait, with politically important but militarily modest help from coalition allies. It is illogical to argue that UN peacekeeping forces or Egyptian and Saudi troops, without a significant American presence, are sufficient to safeguard the peace.

The United States should not return to an over-the-horizon role, positioning military equipment in Saudi Arabia but pulling out all significant military personnel. Such a role would not be sufficient to build confidence among

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moderate Arab states and Israel. And without such confidence, these states will not take the political and economic risks needed to build peace in this region on a basis eventually going beyond military balances. Moreover, the Gulf Arabs have crossed the line in terms of siding with Western power to defend their security. They cannot and do not want to go back to the fiction of buying their security from radical Arabs.

A U.S. presence in the moderate Arab states gives Israel stronger security guarantees than it has ever had. Israel may come to see that now is the time for decisive discussions with the Palestinians. With Iraq on the ropes, Iran still recovering from war, Syria neutralized (at least for a year or so) following its alliance with the West in the war against Iraq, and Jordan looking for some way to rejoin the moderate Arab community, significant threats to Israel in the short to medium term do not exist. Psychologically, the Israelis may not see it that way, especially after the Scud missile attacks and the carnage wreaked by Iraqi power in Kuwait. But the reality is nevertheless so.

While strong security arrangements are the first step, economic initiatives must follow quickly if the Middle East is to move over the next decade toward a more stable peace. Here the oil-rich Gulf states have a special responsibility. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Gulf emirates should redirect the uses of their oil resources, away from bankrupt policies of jousting with the West in OPEC and paying off radical Arabs, toward a massive program of reconstruction and economic cooperation in the Middle East. Such an Arab-launched "Marshall Plan" would aim, in the first instance, to benefit the poor Arab states such as Egypt and Jordan, but also to influence the use of oil resources in radical states such as Iran and Iraq. It might be coupled with a strengthened set of economic ties with Israel, the United States, Europe, and Japan, beginning perhaps with a multilateralization of the free-trade agreement between the United States and Israel.

Germany and Japan also have special responsibilities in the economic area. They too benefited from allied military power without in their case contributing any combat forces, unlike the Gulf Arab states. If they are struggling to find peaceful ways to exercise influence in world affairs, what better way than to put their money and people into the task of economic reconstruction in the Gulf?

Taking the Lead

IN ALL of this, America's role is crucial. It is the only country whose military power engenders confidence, not threat, and whose political leadership is acceptable to all the parties involved. As the framework outlined above suggests, it does not have to provide the major economic means, as it did in Europe in 1948. The Middle East has the resources to earn immediate wealth, and Germany and Japan can help. But the United States has to supply the political vision, the military stability, and the diplomatic direction.

The United States did this and more to win the peace in Europe after World War II. Of course, the circumstances are different today. But so is the world. The major nations of the world, including the rival superpowers of the cold-war era, stood politically united behind the effort to liberate Kuwait. The Western world today enjoys unprecedented economic riches. Democracy does not exist in the Persian Gulf, to be sure, but it does exist in two-thirds of the rest of the world, unlike in 1945, and more and more countries, especially in the Third World, are experimenting with more democratic forms of government. In the wake of this war, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab states will almost certainly seek to strengthen democratic procedures in their countries.

For the United States the risks of engagement in the Middle East are substantial—anti-Westernism, unstable governments, and terrorism flourish there. But so are the risks of retreat. Losing the peace can have only one outcome: another costly war. America learned in Europe that winning the peace takes much longer, but in the end is less costly. □

ARAB–ISRAELI PEACE

PLAYING WASHINGTON'S HAND

ADAM GARFINKLE

WHEN President Bush, in his address to Congress on March 6, declaimed in a crescendo of emotion that "the time has come to put an end to the Arab–Israeli conflict" in accordance "with the principle of territory for peace," he raised no small degree of fear and confusion among seasoned observers of Arab–Israeli affairs.

The fear stemmed from memories of other such declarations of bold intent whose end was failure and even retrograde motion. The most memorable such occasion followed initial Israeli successes in the Lebanon war of 1982. While the victory was not an American one, the smashing of both the PLO and Syria and the consequent undercutting of Soviet influence in the region led to distended U.S. ambitions on Arab–Israeli relations. The Reagan Plan of September 1, 1982, attempting to take advantage of a fluid situation, was a double failure. Not only did Arab–Israeli antagonism remain undiminished, but energy and attention were diverted away from Lebanon's problems, trading an opportunity to do some good there for humiliation at the hands of Syria's Hafez Assad.

The confusion arose from the seeming contradiction between the President's tone and that of Secretary of State James Baker. Just three days before the President's speech, Baker had said of his upcoming trip to the re-

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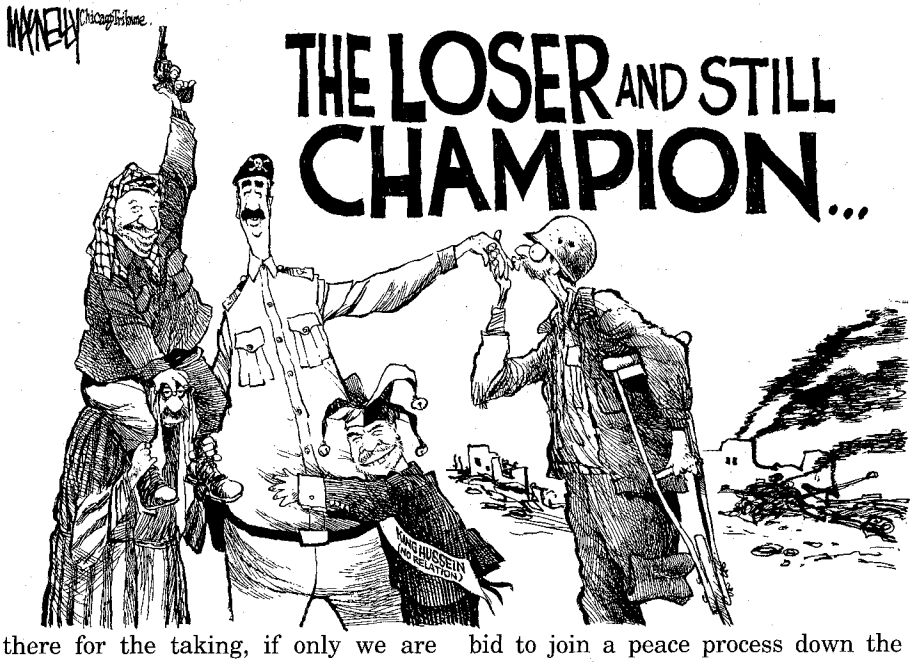
gion, "The worst thing we can do is to arrive in the region [and] say, This is the American plan for peace." He would go to listen, he said, hinting that pragmatism might require separating the state-to-state dimension of the Arab–Israeli conflict from the Palestinian aspect, and implying emphasis on the former. "Land for peace"? Baker was reticent: "We want to explore with the Arabs and Israelis what might be possible in the aftermath of this very, very significant development in the region." Moreover, Arab–Israeli hands in the State Department remembered the Lebanon lesson of 1982–83 and said so.

High Hopes

SO WHAT is one to make of Mr. Bush's breezy bombast? Was it just a speechwriter's excess left undetected by wiser eyes? Perhaps, like a novice at dice, the President thinks that one triumphant roll necessarily leads to another? Or is there in fact good reason to believe that major progress on Arab–Israeli peace is now there for the taking, if only we are plucky enough to reach out?



If that's what Mr. Bush is thinking, he's not alone. Western European presidents and prime ministers are falling over each other to project optimism and urge quick action. More seriously, Henry Kissinger, no amateur on matters Arab–Israeli, believes the new balance of power in the region after the war is "a historic opportunity" that "should be translated into a major diplomatic effort within a few months of victory." What is the logic behind such optimism? Putting the best face on it, it comes in four parts.

First, the Persian Gulf War leaves the United States as the world's only multidimensional superpower, with prestige and clout to spare. When we talk, others listen. Conversely, the obstacle to Arab–Israeli accord that Soviet policy has long constituted has been proportionally reduced.

Second, with strong Soviet help a thing of the past, Syria might now be reconciled to making peace with Israel—and Syria, clearly, has ever represented the Gordian knot to be cut if peace is to be achieved.

Third, the PLO is down and maybe out. Already Saudis and Egyptians are moving to displace the current Palestinian leadership, and the King of Jordan, though weakened by crisis and war, is sharpening his knives as a result. King Hussein's recently expressed interest in reviving the February 1985 Jordanian–Palestinian political accord and the Jordanian–Israeli London Agreement of April 1987 is not accidental; both presage a Hashemite bid to join a peace process down the road at PLO expense.

Finally, and most important, Arab politics are aligned along an Egyptian–Syrian–Saudi axis, with all other claimants to influence defeated or marginalized. The last time these three came together in alliance—in 1973—was the only time in the history of the Arab–Israeli conflict when the Arab states initiated war in true coalition. Now, the reasoning goes, if those three states are aligned for peace, no one in the Arab world can stop them.

What might this add up to? Syrian and Jordanian willingness to make full, public, and formal peace with Israel, and Arab support for change in the Palestinian status quo well short of an independent state—all of this marshaled by Egypt, financed by Saudi Arabia, and guaranteed (perhaps even soldiered) by the United States. Israel would get the peace it seeks on every border, with Palestinian aspirations contained, and at a price that even a right-of-center government could afford.

Sounds wonderful, but what could go wrong? Rather a lot could go wrong—and probably will.

First, much hinges on Syria, and there is no assurance of its willingness to make peace. We can count on Mr. Assad joining in the diplomacy for other reasons, however: to recast the Golan Heights issue, to get American money, to gain firmer U.S. and Israeli acquiescence to Damascus's domination of Lebanon. But the Alawite base of the Syrian regime is probably too narrow to risk peace, and, with Saddam Hussein destroyed, the road is clear for the Syrian Ba'ath party to claim the mantle of pan–Arabism. Can't do that and make peace with Israel at the same time.

Second, even if Syria were brought on board, sealing a deal with the Israelis over the West Bank will require Jordanian participation at some stage. But the Hashemite throne is shakier today than it has been at any time since the an-Nablusi affair of 1957. Back in August 1970, Washington thought it had nailed down agreement from all parties to end the war of attrition and begin peace talks, when civil war in Jordan shattered all hopes. A similar outbreak of social dementia in Jordan now is not that far-fetched. So even if King Hussein is brave enough to try to cross the river to a settlement with Israel on the back of a prostrate PLO, increasingly Islamicized Palestinians in Jordan will probably do all they can to see that he never finishes the journey.

Finally, even if both the Syrian and Jordanian bricks fall into place, Israel might still demur. If so, Washington would no doubt turn the screws on Jerusalem, setting off a battle royal with many but unpredictable consequences.

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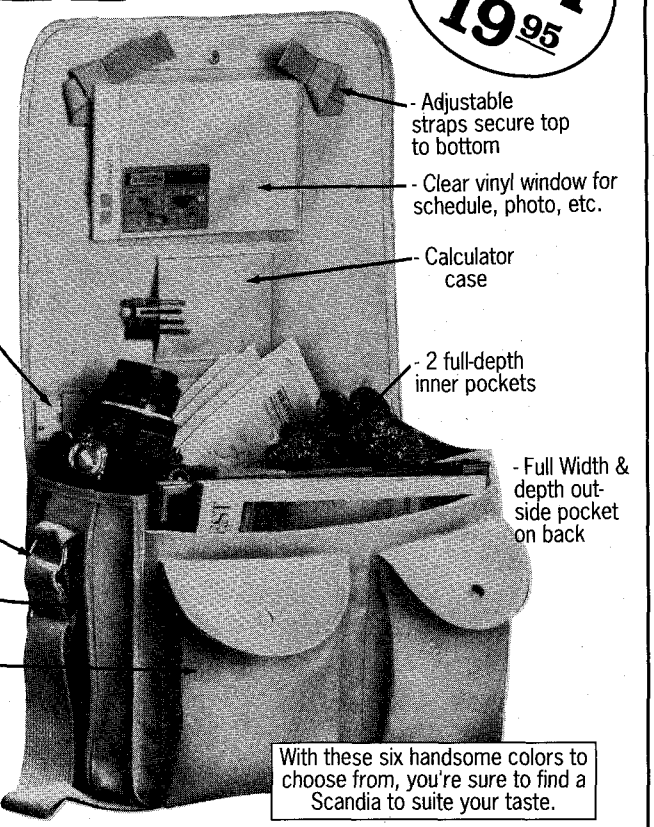
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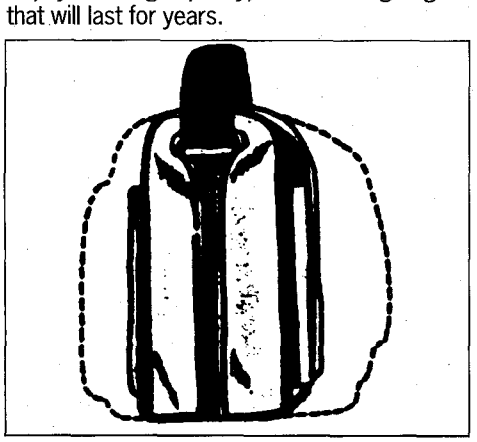

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Arab–Israeli peace. The key, as always, is whether the major Arab states are ready for real peace. Maybe, as a result of the Persian Gulf War, they have finally had their fill of Palestinian nihilism and are ready to separate their own interests from those of the PLO. If so—and that is what Mr. Baker should be trying to find out—then a U.S. role as honest broker will become both necessary and right. Who knows? It might even succeed.

But we don't know yet what the Arab states are prepared to accept, and until we do, we must heed Talleyrand's advice: *Pas de zèle.* Certainly, unless and until there is a partner on the Arab side with which Israel can negotiate real peace, the stupidest thing that Washington could do would be to fall into the mud scratching and spitting with the Israelis, whether over land for peace or some other new and fetching formulation.

And if it should happen that the Arab states remain unwilling to accept Israel in their midst, the United States will still have plenty on its plate. The Persian Gulf is problematical enough to keep us worthily occupied for years, not to speak of the challenges posed by the collapse of the Russian Empire and the struggling democracies of Eastern Europe. Might it even be that these matters are important, too? □

BUSH'S TRIUMPH

HANDLING THE UNITED NATIONS

BRIAN CROZIER

OF ALL President Bush's achievements in the just cause of the Gulf War, perhaps the most skillful and meritorious was his handling of the United Nations. "Manhandling" might be a better word, for the UN, by its nature, is resistant to gentle entreaties.

America had the power: the weapons, the military leadership, the high technology, and (as always) the logistical clout. What was needed was international legitimacy, meaning consensus and coalition.

We all knew George Herbert Walker Bush had the right résumé, which included (apart from distinguished combat experience) his year or so as Permanent Representative to the UN (1971–72) and his year at the helm of the CIA (1976–77). What we didn't know was whether he had the character, the persistence, the guts, to capitalize on this experience in a situation of great potential peril. He showed, conclusively, that he had what it took.

Frankly, the history of the UN wasn't exactly encouraging. Only once, in June 1950 when Kim Il-sung of North Korea crossed the artificial border into the anti-Communist south, had the United Nations produced a coalition of forces for an international punitive expedition. And that was possible for one reason and one only: the Soviet Union (still under Stalin) was boycotting the Security Council.

This time there was no boycott. Instead, there was a disturbing past history, and an uncertain present. For years, the Soviets had built up Iraq as a regional military power, while consolidating Saddam Hussein's personal tyranny with the repressive expertise of the KGB [see "Saddam's Soviet Connection," March 18]. Against that, President Gorbachev, begging bowl extended, had good reasons not to be seen to be supporting Saddam. He evidently felt he could get away with leaving whatever number it was of "advisors" with the Iraqi forces; but would he join the proposed consensus?

The pattern was set in those feverish first few days after Saddam Hussein's forces marched into Kuwait on August 2. On that same day, the Security Council passed Resolution 660, the first of 12 resolutions relating to the crisis. The first was the most innocuous: it simply called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq's forces. It also (and unhelpfully) called for a negotiated settlement.

Designed for Inaction

THE COMPOSITION of the Security Council was hardly designed for fast, pro-Western action. The pattern of the five permanent members had been set by the winning World War II coalition, which included Stalin. The new economic superpowers, Germany and Japan, were still excluded as inheritors of the Axis collapse. Communist China, now on its good behavior while working its passage home after the Tiananmen massacre, was not out to give trouble. But there were (there always are) troublesome temporary members: Cuba, Yemen, Ethiopia. How would *they* behave? True, they had no veto, but they might disturb the desirable show of unity. And indeed Cuba and Yemen did, more than once.

On August 6, for instance, both countries abstained from the much tougher Resolution 661, imposing mandatory sanctions against Iraqi and Kuwaiti trade.

Two days later, President Bush stated the United States' aims in no uncertain terms. In his televised address, he called for the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi forces and the restoration of the deposed Kuwaiti government. By then, U.S. forces had already begun to land in Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

By the end of the month, the ad-hoc "multinational force" sponsored by the U.S. included not only contributions, actual or potential, from Britain, France, Canada, and Australia, but also the symbolically important participation of two major Arab countries (Egypt and Syria) and several minor ones. It has to be said, even by those of us who have long been critical of the UN, that without UN approval this grand coalition could never have been put together. U.S. leadership alone would not have sufficed.

American diplomacy therefore had, from the start, to function on two parallel lines: straight diplomatic talk,

Mr. Crozier, an NR *contributing editor, is the author of, most recently,* The Gorbachev Phenomenon.

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PATRICK BUCHANAN

GOP forfeited its opportunity

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plus persuasion within the Manhattan glass house.

The problem of international legacy dominated the horizon. The relevant bits of the UN Charter were Articles 41 and 51. Article 41 was useful, but only as a stage on the road to tougher action, since it merely sanctified sanctions without the use of force to back them. Article 51 permitted force, but only conditionally. It affirmed "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, if an armed attack occurs against a member of the organization," but only "until the Security Council has taken the necessary measures to maintain peace and international security." There was the rub.

On August 10, Secretary of State James Baker interpreted Resolution 661 as giving the U.S. the legal authority to institute a blockade of Iraq, on condition that the legitimate government of Kuwait formally requested it. The emir and his family could hardly say no, and the request duly came two days later.

The UN Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, dissented. By the nature of his career and of the temperament that qualified him for the top UN job he could hardly do otherwise. On August 13, and again on the 17th, he dissociated the UN, at that stage, from any use of force to impose sanctions. President Bush rebuffed him on this issue on the 14th.

Turning Point

THIS WAS a critical moment for George Bush. Two permanent members of the Security Council were making it plain that they were reluctant to do anything without an unambiguous UN blessing. One was a NATO ally: France. The other was, well, not exactly an ally, led by the man Mrs. Thatcher had said one could "do business with."

The motivation of the key leaders concerned, President François Mitterrand and President Mikhail Gorbachev, was interestingly similar yet different. Mitterrand was inhibited by two factors in particular: the fact that France, next to the USSR, had been Iraq's principal supplier of weaponry; and the more politically embarrassing fact that his leftist defense minister, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, was a founding member of the France–Iraq Friendship association and resistant every inch of the way to any moves hostile to Saddam Hussein. Eventually, he relieved President Mitterrand's embarrassment by resigning.

As for Gorbachev, with his history of pro-Saddam policies to remember, and fifty million Soviet Muslims to think of, he was even more insistent than Mitterrand on Security Council authority for any action proposed. He even wanted to revive that moribund body, the Security Council Military Staff Committee, to head and direct any enforcement proposed. In the end, he opted for a passive benevolence more in line with his Nobel Peace Prize than was his repression in the Baltic Republics.

The USSR was in turmoil throughout the crisis, and there were moments when President Bush and his advisors may have wondered whether the Soviets could continue to play their helpfully passive role.

Sheer persistence won the long diplomatic battle for George Bush. The President himself had gone to Paris for the CSCE conference (November 19–21), then on to Saudi Arabia, where he met King Fahd and spent Thanksgiving Day with the U.S. troops, thence to Egypt to see President Mubarak and to Geneva for a more controversial talk with President Assad of Syria. Back home, he met with China's foreign minister, Qian Qichen, at UN headquarters. Now he was ready, and the crucial Resolution 678 was passed on November 29. China abstained, and this time Cuba and Yemen voted against.

Resolution 678 sealed Saddam's fate. It sanctioned "all necessary measures" to implement previous Resolutions and restore peace and security. And it gave Iraq's dictator an ultimatum: comply by January 15, or we act. He didn't; we did.

So, is the UN vindicated, for the rest of our collective time? I remember too insistently the long history of its failures and snarl-ups. The international ambiance during the Gulf crisis was uniquely and unprecedentedly favorable for collective action. Gorbachev was inhibited by the proclaimed end of the cold war as well as by his internal crisis. The partial emancipation of Eastern Europe helped, as did the significant weakening of Soviet-supported revolutions in Latin America and southern Africa. Next time round, things may not be so kind to our very own superpower. □

IN THE WASHINGTON TRENCHES

MY LIFE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

NEAL B. FREEMAN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Last fall, no more than a millennium ago, I did what I could to prevent the outbreak of war in the Middle East. I spoke, I wrote, I grabbed lapels. For reasons outlined in these pages and elsewhere, I played the lonesome dove to a chorus (a pride?) of hell-for-leather policy jocks.

And a funny thing happened.

Almost overnight I became brighter, more attractive, damn near irresistible to some strata of Beltway social life. I spoke after Georgetown dinners, opined on C-SPAN, jawed away at top-of-the-line conferences. I was, mayhap, becoming a contender for Tom Bethell's Strange New Respect Award. Yes, I was being used, and, no, it was not an altogether unpleasant sensation.

As the "other coalition" began to form, the one that came to oppose the U.S. attack, it split rather neatly into four sub-constituencies:

—The first group believed that war, any war, will be used by the central government to gather power to itself

Mr. Freeman is a Peabody Award–winning television producer in Washington, D.C., and a director of National Review, Inc.

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and thereby diminish the area of human freedom, especially economic freedom, that its citizens enjoy. This position, in my view, is intellectually defensible, historically verifiable, and, in the present circumstance, of no more than marginal pertinence. Call these people libertarians.

—The second group included those who regard any application of U.S. military power as provocative, unwarranted, and (of the greatest tactical importance) delayable. Call these people Democrats.

—The third group, with which I associated myself, was explicitly patriotic, prepared even to indulge an institutional bias in favor of the U.S. military, but unwilling to define the liberation of Kuwait in a way that placed it above the waterline of U.S. national interest. (I should acknowledge that I was never more than a B-list catch in this group. The A list was headed by James Webb, the much-decorated and ferociously articulate Marine veteran, and various "formers" from the national-security apparatus.) Call this group selective hawks.

—The fourth group, never numerically dominant but always mediagenic, was the activists who, while no doubt sincere in their antiwar views, became increasingly strident in their anti-American rhetoric. If push came to shove in the Gulf, they seemed to be saying, they wanted America to be *punished* for her imperialistic war. I had not seen these people since the Sixties. Call them creeps.

As the clock ticked down to January 15, and as push came irreversibly to shove, the seams of our little peace movement began to pop. (James Burnham would have told us as much. The unprincipled coalition never holds under serious stress.) From the outset, in all of the talkfests, I had stipulated that, my own analysis notwithstanding, it seemed clear enough that Saddam Hussein represented the lowest form of geopolitical life. But as a shooting war became all but inevitable, I began to go further, ultimately using a phrase I had not touched since I wrote a speech for Curtis LeMay. I suggested that if war broke out, I did not wish to leave my position clouded with ambiguity: the appropriate mission for the U.S. Air Force would be to bomb Saddam's redoubt back to the Stone Age. This proved to be a surefire crowd displeaser.

Then Saddam ignored the deadline, and the rest is CNN.

Walk on the Wild Side

WHAT have I learned from this walk on the wild side, this brief, unconsummated relationship with the peace movement? A great deal, I think.

First, the world is too small, too well informed, too free-at-last for the U.S. to be isolationist. The oceans are no longer natural barriers, protecting us from the corrupting touch of the old and the alien: they are data hubs, workday extenders, county lines, connective tissue. They no longer hold us apart. They draw us together. It's an honorable tradition in our history, stated memorably by Washington in the Farewell Address, but isolationism can no longer serve us well.

Second, the neo-JFK interventionism now in rhetorical vogue is equally inapposite. The central text here is the budget just presented by OMB. Anybody who thinks we can pay any price and bear any burden is arithmetically impaired. The new low-ball budget claims 25 per cent of GNP for federal spending (with payments on the national debt rapidly overtaking defense spending). If we throttle up a policy of unmodulated imperialism, we will bust the growth machine.

Third, the lofty idea of "collective security" may have long-term dire consequences for America and her friends. The President has stated repeatedly that U.S. forces were sent to the Middle East to "implement UN Resolutions." Such formulations are not harmless flourishes. They tend to position such documents as Higher Authority, to which deference is to be paid and for which, in the present case, blood is to be shed. It was only a decade ago that Ronald Reagan began a long and politically costly effort to discredit UN authority and restore U.S. unilateralism. (Friends of Israel are especially, and appropriately, worried on this score. A. M. Rosenthal waited only until January 15 to headline his wishful column in the *New York Times*, "The New World Order Dies.")

Fourth, what is both necessary and timely is a new, conservative-led policy for the postwar era—a policy of priority engagement. We now know that Washington's premier spinmeister, James Baker, can arrange standing ovations for himself by persuading the Germans and the French, the Syrians and the Israelis, the Chinese and the Japanese to let us fight their battles for them. (The Catskills wisdom is timeless: Why did God create WASPs? Because somebody has to pay retail.) What we must learn to do now—on some occasions, in some circumstances—is persuade *them* to fight *our* battles. For the United States, there must be some border wars that can be left unattended, some aggression that does not trigger global response, some provocations, even, that we can endure unprovoked. □

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Godly Secularity

JOSEPH SOBRAN

GARRY WILLS has written *Under God: Religion and American Politics* for a worthy purpose: to correct the secularist bias of standard American histories and of most journalistic discussion. Religion, he makes clear, has always been a shaping force in America and will remain so till kingdom come.

The book's flaw, to call it that, is that it's less comprehensive than its title. Wills says little about Catholicism's political influence and almost nothing about Judaism's. The word "Mormon" occurs once. You can call these and other omissions serious gaps; or you can accept the book as an elliptical study of an impressive miscellany of religious personalities (mostly Protestant) and issues. If it had tried to cover everything, it would have become an encyclopedia. As it is, it offers plenty.

Wills's writing is erratic, in a happy way: it ranges from good to stunning.

Under God: Religion and American Politics, by Garry Wills (Simon & Schuster, 445 pp., $24.95)

I've never read a more eloquent discussion of the problem of obscenity than his, and his eloquence is a fusion of insight, learning, and grace of phrase:

> What intrigues Augustine about sex is its dramatization of the human being's internal disjunctions. He dwells more on the body's impotence than its importunacy, since the former shows a kind of ultimate rebellion, when the soul cannot get the body to go along even with its *sinful* plans. Here "desire will no longer serve desire" (*libidini libido non servit*). The great revolutionary of Eden, grasping at godhead, cannot even find a willing recruit to little rebellions of the flesh. It is the unpredictability of the organs' response that makes the genitals embarrassing (*pudenda*). In Eden, where they were under control, they were not an embarrassment. But now humans seek privacy for their trysts, even in brothels.

Passages like this might have had no place in a better-organized book; Wills is often at his finest when he seems to be digressing. The only common denominator of his assorted topics—Gary Hart, the Scopes trial, Biblical prophecy, Jesse Jackson, Lincoln's "black theology," abortion, feminism, Roger Williams—is his own interest in them; but he always communicates that interest and more than justifies it.

Jennifer Lawson

Wills sees religion as a force of many potencies, some of them destructive, but most of them serving to give some sort of moral form to democratic public discussion. His chapters on the Scopes trial show William Jennings Bryan sympathetically, as a man who rejected Darwin in large part because he rejected social Darwinism—in contrast to the cynical elitists Clarence Darrow and H. L. Mencken, Nietzscheans both. But Mencken persuaded the intellectuals that fundamentalism was vanquished at Dayton, Tennessee, which Wills shows was by no means the case. "No ignorance," he sighs, "is more securely lodged than the ignorance of the learned."

For a learned man, an intellectual, and an expert of sorts, Wills has a certain suspicion of the clerisy. He sees it as tending to cut itself off from the idiom of ordinary people, whereas religion informs that idiom. Ever since slavery, blacks have used the figurative language of Scripture to express their plight and their yearnings, few more powerfully than two of Wills's heroes, Martin Luther King and Jesse Jackson. Lincoln's eloquence was also based on Scripture (and Wills has written brilliantly on this, notably in a recent issue of *Life*). To the extent that America has been successful as a community, Wills ascribes the fact to its cultural foundation, evangelical Protestantism.

The book's later chapters painstakingly dispose of the myth that the founders of our political tradition were hostile to religion. They wanted religious freedom precisely because they wanted religion to operate freely, even as a political influence. Thomas Jefferson appears unexpectedly pious here. And Wills thinks the separation of church and state has been as good for religion as they meant it to be.

He argues that separationism ought to go even further—abolishing state-funded military chaplaincies, for instance—so as to make religion even freer. "America has remained deeply religious while taking ever more seriously the ideal of separation," he observes. "It is false to think that recent court decisions have made religion less important or effective in America." You might argue with that formulation; "false" seems to me too simple. But it does help correct a prevalent oversimplification.

At times the reader wonders just what Wills means by "religion." The book's abundance and unfailing intelligence make its surface disorder forgivable; still, you are left feeling that something at its core is unresolved. Wills takes no position on which version of Christianity (if any) is true, and maybe it would be inappropriate to do so for the purposes of his book. But he seems to evaluate "religion" ac-

Mr. Sobran, an NR *senior editor, writes a twice-a-week column for Universal Press Syndicate.*

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cording to whether it conduces to politics he finds properly progressive.

Like many people, he seems surer of his politics than of his religion. This is his privilege, but it puts him, in an odd way, in the same position as some of those who argue their politics from sectarian interpretations of the Bible. If you share the premise you'll agree with the conclusion; but the premise itself isn't obvious to everyone. If his starting point were more definite than a nebulous approval of "religion" (some forms, anyway), he might wind up with a different politics.

After all, most religious people do put their religion ahead of their politics, and the way they vote is largely a by-product of the way they worship, not vice versa. I don't want to overstate this, but Wills acknowledges that religion is a better predictor of voting patterns than many of the conventional indices. *Under God* would have been improved by more directly addressing religious experience as such: belief, adoration, repentance, rite, and their attendant emotions. In spite of his own finger-wagging, Wills has the usual shyness of intellectuals about the central subject: the claims of Christ. "Religion" comes to seem like a euphemism, one that sometimes blocks frank discussion.

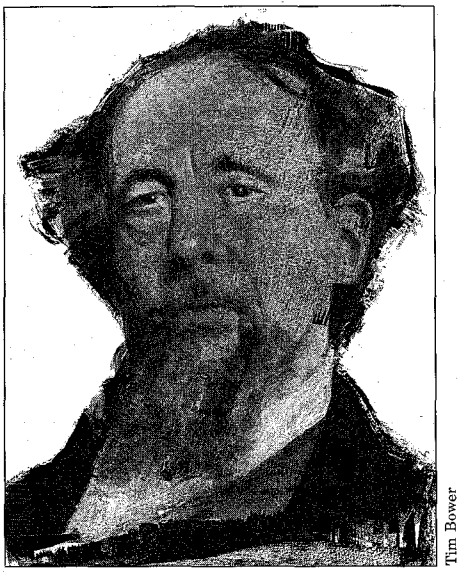
That said, *Under God* is a rich addition to the small library Wills has written by now. It adds another dimension to his great project of reinterpreting the entire American experience. How rare it is to find a writer so constantly refreshing, even on re-reading, and so thoughtful that you want to know what he says even when you expect to disagree. □

A Dickensian Life

JOE MYSAK

CHARLES DICKENS always took charge of the situation, whether editing a newspaper or magazine or staging an amateur theatrical. He rearranged his hotel furniture to suit his taste, and made sure all of the furnishings and pictures at home were *just so*. He doted on babies. He called himself "the Inimitable." He gave money to the poor—along with moral admonitions. He did more than anyone else to create the modern "image" of the Christmas feast. He drove his wife from his hearth, and thought almost all of his ten children lacked determination.

Dickens, by Peter Ackroyd (HarperCollins, 1,195 pp., $35)



Tim Bower

Charles Dickens was perhaps the greatest novelist in the English language. But Peter Ackroyd gives us more than an account of the novelist's work. He does what a biographer should: he gives us the man.

He does it in the grand style, with numerous and at times overwrought asides, observations on the biographer's art, and even fictionalized accounts of meeting the Inimitable himself. But as more than one critic has pointed out in other cases, an epic subject invites a certain excess. If Mr. Ackroyd, himself a novelist and a biographer of T. S. Eliot, is zealous, it is because he knows that so much of a life "cannot be recovered," and yet that the biographer's mission is to provide clarity and certainty. At the end of the day—at the end of this sheer mass of book—we find the man.

For each reader it will probably be different, the word or phrase that reveals Charles Dickens. There is, for example, this recollection provided by an American friend: "He liked to dilate in imagination over the brewing of a bowl of punch, but I always noticed that when the punch was ready, he drank less of it than anyone who might be present. It was the sentiment of the thing and not the thing itself that engaged his attention."

Or it may be the way Dickens relished the idiosyncrasies of his own creations, and at times "deliberately decided to behave in a Dickensian manner." Or that the success of his use of publicity to hawk his magazine, *All the Year Round*, "confirmed Dickens in his favorite belief: that he was, after all, right all the time."

For me, the following story did it: "He believed that extraordinary things were always likely to happen to him, and, true to form, the landlord of his lodging as well as the landlord's daughter went 'mad' before being taken away in straitwaistcoats, raving, to the local asylum; 'quite worthy of me,' Dickens said with less than charitable concern for the poor couple, 'and quite in keeping with my usual proceedings.' "

Ackroyd is a writer, not an academic, but he brings to his subject the depth of research of the latter as well as the style of the former. His *Dickens* is a dashing narrative, as a proper biography of Dickens has to be. Dickens was, as we all know, driven by his time in Warren's blacking factory as a child, consigned there by his improvident debtor father and abandoned by his mother. This key event in his history informed all else, but especially his passion for money and his distrust of women. Ackroyd's study of this man determined to succeed against any odds is almost literally breathtaking. It is little wonder that Dickens was almost never satisfied with photographs of himself: they took too long and hence show none of his humor and exuberance; in fact they typically make him look grim or ferocious.

Ackroyd tells us precisely how Dickens went about his craft, consistently producing all those consecutive numbers in the magazines *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. He wrote swiftly and instinctively, and also knew that "in attention to detail, efficiency, and sheer technical competence the secret of success is to be found."

Ackroyd also corrects some of the more idiotic, neo-Marxist interpreta-

Mr. Mysak is an editor of the daily Bond Buyer *in New York City.*

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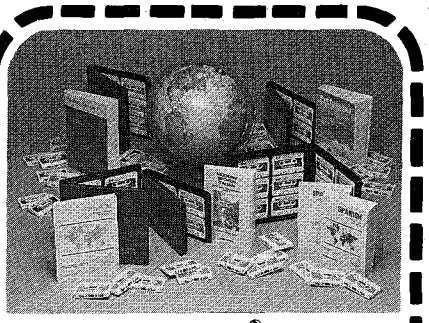

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tions of the man and some of his works, like *Bleak House* or *Hard Times*. Dickens was not "an *intellectual* radical. He was not someone who believed that governments might work on the basis of a few enlightened principles; he was a radical by reason of his own position in society, and his own determination to transcend it"—in other words, to put as much distance as he could between himself and Warren's factory. He "took the world personally; he often adopted in his imagination the role of victim, and was thus able to deal in a powerful and poignant manner with the sufferings of the poor and the afflicted." As for his actual feelings, Dickens, says Ackroyd, "was instinctively and often expressly conservative in his real social attitudes."

Along the way, Ackroyd picks a few fights with those likely to find fault with his work. Early on he notes of *The Pickwick Papers*: "He had in fact produced something quite unprecedented in the history of English literature. It has not been a popular book in recent years, primarily because those who discuss such matters professionally have tended to look for 'ambiguity,' 'complexity,' 'darkness,' or 'irony' in the fictions they recommend. *The Pickwick Papers* has all of these things, but they are at the service of a comic energy which has a momentum of its own."

Dickens has a momentum: Dickens's own, which was breakneck. What's more, it has real substance and solidity. The only time Ackroyd, in this otherwise estimable life, strains his readers' credulity and patience is in his description of Dickens's separation from his wife in favor of the actress Ellen Ternan. Ackroyd thinks the affair was a manifestation of Dickens's mooniness over perfect, innocent, "brother and sister" relationships.

We will never know the truth, of course. Dickens was painstaking in covering the affair up. But when this book appeared in England last September, Ferdinand Mount, writing in *The Spectator*, summed up: "Dickens was ruthless, egotistical, and impatient. He was as cold and horrible to his wife Catherine as any deserting husband can ever have been. He told a series of disgusting lies about the unhappiness of their earlier life together. In many ways, he was a horrible man—racist, selfish, money-grubbing. But even when he was being a marvelous man, which he also was, he always knew what he wanted out of other people and lost no time in getting it. Is it really conceivable that this whole complex edifice of expense, betrayal, and deception was a conspiracy for the purpose of virginal spooning?"

Spooning aside, and discounting the too-long death march, *Dickens* does justice to the man. As long as one of his novels, and occasionally as strange as the man, the biography is "quite worthy" of Dickens. □

Noble Savage

JAMES GARDNER

IF PICASSO, the man, could have fashioned himself with the same sovereign mastery he displayed in the mixing of pigments and the molding of clay, he would have looked very different indeed from that improbably bald, bandy-legged satyr he eventually became. He would have been tall and fair-haired like his father, known to his admiring Iberian compatriots as "the Englishman." He would have been dapper and aristocratic, with a shock of blond hair and an expression of soulful *fin-de-siècle* refinement. Instead he became Picasso, that squat, ugly little man with the manic stare and the uncouth manners.

In his earliest self-portraits, he did the best he could for himself. But presently, with the irretrievable loss of his hair and the gradual imbrutation of his features, he gave up on this lost cause, and decided instead to play the Noble Savage for all it was worth. Yet the temptation to modify and adjust the way he appeared before the world

A Life of Picasso, by John Richardson (Random House, 521 pp., $39.95)

Mr. Gardner writes frequently about art for NR *and* Commentary.

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remained, and as soon as he had a past to look back upon, he was busy tampering with it. It was said of the painter Dufy that, if he chanced to be in a museum where one of his works was hanging, even one he had painted years earlier, he could not resist getting out his brushes and pigments and reworking it with a judicious jab here and there. And so it was with Pablo Picasso. He never could make up his mind about how he wanted to live his past, and he constantly revised it as the occasion demanded.

For this reason, it is the role of any conscientious biographer to superintend the demolition of the myth that Picasso has so sedulously constructed. Unfortunately, most of those biographers who came in contact with him, Jaime Sabartes and Roland Penrose especially, fell too deeply under his spell to exercise any critical skepticism. On the other hand, Arianna Stassinopoulos Huffington, by digging up as much dirt as she could find (and sometimes more than she could find), by exposing Picasso's tyrannical self-absorption and his abuse of women, has unwittingly played into his hands. He emerges as nothing if not colorful and dynamic.

But Picasso, who was surely a great man, was also vain in the way that mediocre men are often vain. Vanity was perhaps the defining feature of his character, as genius was the defining feature of his art. His autobiographical accounts are often confused, and invariably they are calculated to make him appear a little bit better than he was—a little cleverer, a little sexier. As Picasso saw it, he had much to make up for: the perennial failure and indigence of his father, who was as inept a teacher as he was a painter; the fact that he himself was born in Malaga, in the south, rather than in Catalonia, which was considered something of a step up; the fact that his juvenile works, which he liked to compare favorably with the drawings of Raphael, were mostly undistinguished. All these and more were so many blemishes to be painted over with the airbrush of lies and wishful thinking.

Thus it is not the least virtue and novelty of this first volume of John Richardson's *A Life of Picasso* that it exposes the artist's vanity—not the all-consuming vanity of an egomaniac, but that small, well-placed, tactical vanity of Everyman. For 12 years, Richardson lived not far from Picasso in France, and he is described as having been "a close friend." Yet despite his affection for Picasso, Richardson has refused the mantle of court historian. His method is more or less to doubt everything the old man ever said, and to assert nothing without thorough substantiation.

This volume, the first of a projected four-volume biography, is a detailed inquiry into the artist's life up to age 25: from his birth in Malaga in 1881 up to 1906, when his rose paintings started turning an ominous shade of brown just before they took the plunge into Cubism. In this initial installment, one has the sense, not merely of reading the definitive life of the artist, but of presiding at the inception of what may prove to be a monument in the art of biography. Such is the solidity of the scholarship, such is the novelistic flair of the prose, that one is put in mind of Leon Edel's five-volume *Life of Henry James*.

Richardson's text is regularly punctuated with fascinating asides about the inspired bohemians whom the artist knew—Gertrude Stein, Max Jacob, and Guillaume Apollinaire, to name only the best known. We learn of Picasso's rocky relations with dealers like Kahnweiler and Vollard, and we feel the heady optimism, the explosive, circus-like exuberance of life at Els Quatre Gats in Barcelona and Au Lapin Agile in Paris, his favorite cafés. The vast and judicious accumulation of circumstantial details is what is perhaps most impressive about Richardson's book. One feels about the author, as about Edel, not only that he has mastered his subject but that he has mastered all material that touches upon his subject in even the most tangential way. One is left with an exhilarating sense of omniscience about Picasso, of looking down on his extraordinary life from the vantage point of the gods.

Richardson has given us a portrait of the artist *in statu nascendi*, during the rocky years of his incipience, before the fame and the honors took the edge off our perception of his greatness and reduced it to a commonplace. In doing so, the author has not wished radically to revise our received ideas

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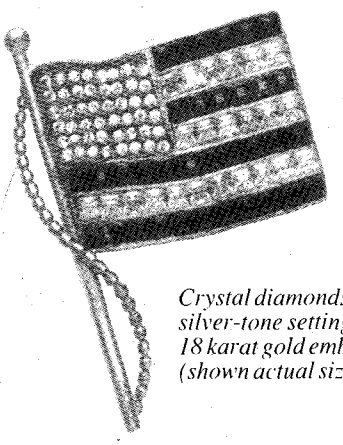

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about the artist. He has not been interested to alter our opinions or call into question our knowledge in general. Rather, by the end of this volume, he succeeds in making us feel the truth that we have always known: that Picasso was a great man, that he harnessed creative forces unparalleled in the art of our time. Yet in the process, the legend has been dismantled and Picasso the man breathes again. And we who never met him can rightly claim that we know him better than before. □

Cold Charity

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

IN ITS political dimension, this skillfully written novel may be described as a literary celebration of the collapse of the structure of Marxist–Leninist thought everywhere in the world except for the People's Republic of China, Cuba, a few benighted and remote ex-satrapies of the Soviet Union that might have been imaginative inventions of Evelyn Waugh, and the American academy. In its literary one, it is a dramatic exploration of the historical, the intellectual, and the personal distortions associated with Marxism–Leninism, in particular as they manifested themselves in the atomic espionage of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the trial and executions that resulted from it. David Evanier has renamed the Rosenbergs Solomon and Dolores Rubell and undertaken an imaginative reconstruction of them, of their associates, and of the "progressive" culture they exemplified, to create a heightened reality that exists as a mythic alternative to the original one. As the novel's epigraph—a quotation from Black Elk—has it, "Whether it happened so or not, I do not know. But if you think about it, you can see that it is true."

Red Love, by David Evanier (Scribner's, 340 pp., $19.95)

Mr. Williamson is Senior Editor for Books with Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture.

The book is postmodernist in technique insofar as its construction by a "reporter" (who we learn in the Prologue is one Gerald Lerner) is part of its own story. It is not, however, self-reflexive or subjective: essentially, *Red Love* is a social and political novel whose realism, pathos, satire, and tragedy are lightened by comic surrealism that shades in places into pure farce, much of it hilarious. Sometimes, though, the farcical, not having been properly prepared for by the author, is intrusive and confusing, as in the very witty trial scene near the end of the book. Similarly, the chapter "Letters from Amerika," consisting of silly and idiotically fatuous notes exchanged by the Rubells in their prison cells while they await execution, appears to me to be a comic, polemical avoidance of what should at this point in the work have been the novelist's chief aim, namely, to grapple finally with the problem of Solly and Dolly Rubell's perverse and enigmatic humanity. And "the Reverend Very Big Bob," a madcap spoof on radio evangelism, while wickedly funny in itself, comes out of nowhere to create the suspicion that its inclusion has a political rather than an artistic rationale; that it is intended as a token attack on the Middle America the Rubells and their fellow "progressives" despised—as a piddling ideological counterweight to the massively anti-progressive thrust of the novel.

The chapters, or dramatic sections, vary greatly in length and have to do with a wide range of characters whose stories are linked thematically, so as to comment indirectly on those of other characters, not by exigencies of plot or even of any clearly articulated central story. Although the Rubells never really develop beyond the revolutionary-poster concept that Evanier makes clear is their own perception of themselves, the people in the book whose lifelong inspiration has been that "progressive" ideal which the Rubells symbolize are *Red Love*'s richest material, and David Evanier's fin-

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est literary achievement to date. (He is the author of two other books, *The One-Star Jew*, a novel, and a collection of stories, *The Swinging Headhunter*.) "The Last Stalinist" concerns an old lady, Sylvia Pollack, who refuses to abandon the Marxist–Leninist dream to which she has sacrificed her only son, who hanged himself in her New York apartment while she was away practicing her activism in Cleveland. " 'That's the kind of society we have,' " Sylvia triumphantly tells the reporter, after explaining how her son had been turned away by a guard at the mental hospital where he sought admittance. But when Gerald Lerner presses to know how she felt at Khrushchev's revelation that the Moscow Trials had been rigged and their victims innocent: " 'Listen,' Sylvia said, 'I don't think about the individual.' "

Sylvia Pollack's story appears at first to be paralleled by that of another die-hard Communist, also an old lady at the time Gerald Lerner meets her, who had testified for the defense at the Rubells' trial many years before. But Manya Poffnick is unable to carry through quite to the end, although in her old age she does join the Black Panther Party. Gradually her disillusionment with the Communist Party grows as she comes increasingly to understand that the Communists cared nothing for the Rubells once they had been apprehended, and in fact wished to see them dead, the sooner the better. " 'You see, we live in a democracy,' " Manya finds herself telling people at the end of her life. But following her death in a "monastic room" with a view of "the majestic sweep of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine," a memorial service is held for her by a group of her fellow "progressives," one of whom opens her overcoat to reveal a display of revolutionary buttons. " 'This,' [the woman] said, pointing to each button, 'is what Manya was.' "

Evanier's primary concern is to explain how such people as the Rubells in particular and "progressive humanity" in general could have existed in the first place; his conclusion, though implicit, is nevertheless clear. It is not a terribly original conclusion, but never has the truth of it, to my knowledge, been more effectively dramatized. Overhearing the prison guards discussing Solomon Rubell's impending death, Rubell's sister has to fight the urge to run to them, crying, " 'He'll never die!' " At one point, the narrator refers to Solly as "the lamb." " 'By dying,' " Ziggy Weissberger, the head of the Party's Committee to Resurrect the Rubells, tells his comrades, " 'the Rubells will live forever.' " " 'Who were the Rubells?' " an activist demands at a Rubell memorial service held thirty years after the executions had taken place. " 'They were nobody, for Christ's sake. And boy, were they ever reliable. Simple little progressive people who drank deeply from the fountain of pure advanced thought.' " The religious—even Christian—imagery is patent, and unveiled.

" 'We have shared the best kind of love,' " Dolly Rubell writes in prison to her husband. " 'Red love. The color of history, sex, blood, and revenge.' " The operation of that love is the enveloping action of David Evanier's novel: charity in its every manifestation directed perversely, horribly, and finally with catastrophic result out of the deeply dug channel in which it has always been intended that human love should run. □

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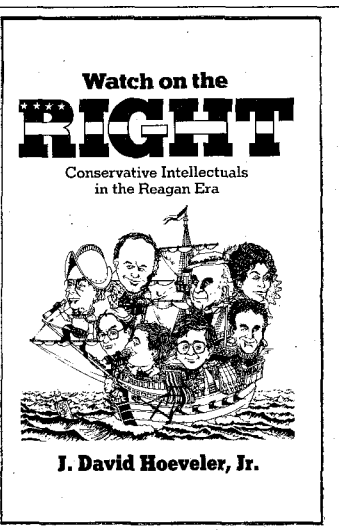
Mr. Toledano, a longtime NR *contributor, is a syndicated columnist and author of 19 books. He is currently at work on his autobiography.*



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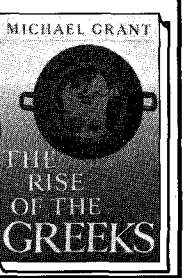

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critics. But Jelly Roll Morton had a period of fame in the Twenties and then disappeared. To the swing boys, he was a figure of ridicule until Hugues Panassié, the *docteur ès lettres* of jazz analysis and criticism, brought him back in 1939 to make a historic series of records—a re-evocation of the great sides he had cut when he was Mr. Jelly Lord and a tourist attraction in Chicago and Harlem. It is only in the last decade or two that he has been recognized as a titanic figure in the evolution of jazz—pianist, band leader, arranger, composer, vocalist.

Alan Nahigian

Like Johannes Brahms, Jelly Roll began his professional career playing piano in a whorehouse. He was born Ferdinand Lamothe of a middle-class New Orleans Creole family, changed his name to Mouton, and finally became Jelly Roll Morton. Never quite sure when he was born—somewhere between 1885 and 1890—he was still a boy when he began playing in the luxurious *bagnios* of Storyville, and not too long into the 1900s had established himself as a leader in the music which burst out of New Orleans when Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels shut down the city's red-light district to protect the morals of our sailors. His trademark was a diamond which commuted between a front tooth, where it lodged during periods of prosperity, and the nearest pawnshop, when he was scuffling.

Whitney Balliett, whose pieces on jazz are among the best writing in *The New Yorker*, could point out in the 1970s that Jelly Roll Morton "has yet to find his rightful place" and set him in the "American mythology of Paul Bunyan and Johnny Appleseed and Davy Crockett." But it was precisely that streak in him which robbed him of his place in the jazz pantheon. For all of his genius, music was secondary to his get-rich-quick schemes, his top-notch pool playing, his pimping and card-sharping, his associated careers as nightclub manager and fight promoter, and his determination to be the sharpest dressed man in the whole U.S. of A. He had the biggest ego in recorded history and an arrogance that got him into trouble with Al Capone and Chicago's gangland.

Braggart he was, yet his music, starting with the records he made for the old Victor company in 1926, revolutionized jazz arrangement, jazz harmony, and the counterpoint of *solo* and *tutti* in jazz performance. It can almost be said that but for these records, the door would not have opened for Duke Ellington. Some of the passages were written out, but, for the most part, Morton relied on "head" arrangements—as Ellington often did—in which the harmonies and the counterpoint were sketched out, so to speak, in the air. New Orleans polyphony was enhanced, enriched, purified, and given a solider beat against which a multirhythmed improvisation could play. For the first time, the constricted jazz of the Delta began to *swing*, and there were such notable moments as the clarinet solo by Albert Nicholas in "Blueblood Blues" in which a moody entrance in *chalumeau* register rises starkly to stabbing figures in high register.

In the mid 1930s, Jelly Roll wrote a letter to *Downbeat* taking umbrage at a Ripley broadcast touting W. C. Handy—whose only contribution to jazz and the blues was to copyright the music he heard along the Mississippi—as the "father of the blues." "I discovered jazz in 1902," Jelly Roll wrote, a little feeble on his dates—and this caused much laughter on 52nd Street in New York. The letter brought him to the attention of Alan Lomax, an archivist at the Library of Congress. He took Morton into the old Coolidge Auditorium, sat him down at a piano, and placed a jug before him. Night after night, Jelly Roll played, sang, and talked a history of jazz—all of it set down on instantaneous glass discs. Jelly Roll got the whisky and the satisfaction of setting the record straight. Lomax transcribed the spoken portions of the recordings and published them as an "autobiography" of Morton. Rudi Blesh, an upnosed writer on jazz, issued a bowdlerized version of the records after World War II, when Jelly Roll was dead.

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(Continues on page 53)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 E	2 L		3 J	4 F	5 H	6 N	7 K	8 R		9 D	10 T	11 G	12 B	13 A	14 E	15 L	16 J	17 R		
18 F	19 T	20 K	21 C	22 H	23 E	24 B	25 M	26 N	27 J		28 D	29 P	30 G	31 C	32 F	33 A	34 Q	35 T		
36 U	37 I	38 K	39 H	40 E		41 G	42 D		43 N	44 O	45 C	46 B		47 U	48 T	49 R	50 Q	51 I	52 H	
	53 E		54 S	55 G	56 D	57 U	58 A	59 C	60 R	61 N	62 K		63 B	64 P	65 R		66 M	67 T	68 D	
69 O	70 F	71 Q	72 S	73 J	74 T	75 B	76 M	77 P	78 G	79 C		80 J	81 D		82 A	83 F	84 I	85 E	86 L	
87 H		88 T	89 C	90 R		91 M	92 Q	93 S		94 O	95 J	96 B	97 R		98 T	99 U	100G	101L	102D	
103Q	104I		105E	106B		107R	108L	109N	110H	111T	112J	113M	114A		115E	116F	117G	118I		
119D	120R	121J	122K	123N	124E	125Q	126F	127U		128N	129I	130C		131J	132H	133O	134F	135C	136P	
137L	138E	139A		140K	141P		142H		143T	144L	145N	146A		147U	148C	149O	150M	151N	152R	
153K		154Q	155E	156N	157R	158B	159L	160F	161D	162G	163H		164G	165S	166B	167I	168L		169M	
170E	171I	172Q	173J	174T		175J	176L	177G		178F	179N	180D	181H	182I	183M					

DEFINITIONS

A. Southernmost city in continental U.S. (2 words) — 146 58 139 82 33 114 13

B. Windbag's output — 46 106 63 24 75 158 12 96 166

C. Military practice sessions — 59 21 79 148 89 45 130 31 135

D. Pushover, to Estee Lauder! (2 words) — 56 42 180 68 102 119 9 161 81 28

E. Oral explosions — 170 23 85 115 1 155 53 138 14 105 124 40

F. Tryst — 178 134 32 160 83 126 18 4 116 70

G. Ridiculous — 78 55 41 11 162 100 177 30 117 164

H. Hard-sounding Massachusetts city — 39 142 110 22 163 132 87 52 181 5

I. Second act — 84 171 104 37 182 51 167 118 129

J. Knee-jerk liberal, in a way — 95 112 175 121 3 73 80 131 16 173 27

K. Political topic — 38 20 122 153 140 62 7

L. 1990 World Series winner — 101 144 168 15 137 176 2 108 86 159

M. From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia — 169 91 113 76 150 25 66 183

N. Needing glasses — 145 151 6 26 61 109 123 43 128 179 156

O. Unspoken — 149 44 133 69 94

P. Bulgarian capital — 136 64 141 77 29

Q. Shortstop, for one — 103 172 34 154 71 125 50 92

R. Thrills the crowd—at a pro-capital-punishment rally? — 120 17 152 49 90 65 157 107 60 97 8

S. Word element meaning "broad" —in a non-sexist way, of course — 54 165 72 93

T. Old World paving material — 98 19 88 74 143 67 35 174 10 111 48

U. English philosopher (1588–1679) — 57 99 47 147 127 36

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 52 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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TOLEDANO

(Continued from page 50)

to this another CD album—*Sidney Bechet; The Victor Sessions—Master Takes 1932–43*. This does not include the records Bechet, clarinet and soprano sax, made in the 1920s—as advanced and influential as anything Armstrong was playing. As far back as 1919, Ernst Ansermet, the great Swiss conductor, wrote that Bechet's playing was the music of the future. A few years older than Armstrong—Louis was born in 1900—Bechet carried forward the clarinet and then moved on to the richer but more difficult soprano saxophone. His tone, his phrasing, and his rhythmic perceptions set this proud, hot-tempered man, and superb musical improviser far ahead of his contemporaries—and there is not a jazz reed player not indebted to him until Lester Young and Charlie Parker brought in a new, though not as glorious, age.

Like Jelly Roll Morton, Bechet did some of his best work for the old Victor and RCA labels—including one *tour de force* in which, by a process of overrecording, he plays clarinet, soprano and tenor sax, piano, bass, and drums. This CD album covers only the later Bechet, so you will have to go to the LPs issued by the Smithsonian for the early work of the 1920s and early 1930s. On this release (BMG/Bluebird 2402-2 RB), Bechet is playing with the great sidemen of his time—yet none of them touch him as he etches lovely rings around the blues and the standards.

Not as noteworthy, and certainly not as great, is *Louis Armstrong & Duke Ellington*—the first recording of the great jazz trumpet and the Ellington orchestra ensemble. This is the best neither of Satch nor of the Duke. Louis Armstrong was always at his best with small combos which included such favorite musicians as Jack Teagarden—I cite their wonderful recordings of "Rocking Chair"—or the fraternity of black and white New Orleans and Chicago sidemen. Collective improvisation took him back to his roots and to the *ars musica* which he had developed and enriched. Ellington, who freely acknowledged his debt to Jelly Roll, had moved in another direction, still faithful to the jazz idiom, yet pushing onward. He and Armstrong did not really fit together. Yet there is a bundle of achievement and nostalgia in this CD reissue (Mobile Fidelity Sound Lab UDCD 514), though in such Ellington standards as "Mood Indigo," "Black & Tan Fantasy," and "The Mooche" you long to hear the old Cootie Williams doing it with the mute. Meanwhile, you can put on your Thirties/Forties dancing shoes for a reissue of Artie Shaw, clarinet, and orchestra at their best in *Blues in the Night* (BMG/Bluebird 2432-2 RB), a CD reissue of a band that gave more to jazz than the Benny Goodman band—a more relaxed and truer brand than the Goodman killer-diller. □

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Let the Joy Be Unconfined

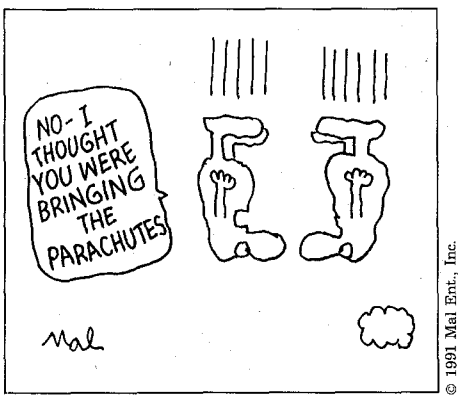
NEW YORK, MARCH 1

Celebrations are entirely civilized affairs and this is certainly the time to engage in one. Which reminds me, if New York City doesn't repeal its ticker-tape ban in behalf of General Schwarzkopf, then indeed it is a dying city. The general combines the military skills of Hannibal with the rhetorical skills of Disraeli, with a little Johnny Carson thrown in. He would be the first to insist that credit must be shared, and of course that's true. But it's also true that his was a critical as well as a symbolic (and telegenic) role. Although the historical credit for our achievement goes to George Bush, the hero is the general in the field, and never was there one more satisfactory than Norman Schwarzkopf, who proved that he could deal as easily with Sam Donaldson as with Saddam Hussein.

It is widely remarked that we have exorcised the ghost of Vietnam. This is true, though it must be said with a certain caution. Certainly President Bush has retaught us what Lyndon Johnson did so much to make us forget, namely that the art of war is a discipline concerning which there is something called expertise—a body of operative knowledge. The decision of the Founders to make the President of the United States Commander-in-Chief was a recognition that decisions whether or not to fight were and always should be political decisions. Lyndon Johnson fancied himself the Commander-in-Chief not only in that sense, but also in the sense of making decisions which were primarily military in character. Mr. Bush knew better, and the result was the most spectacular military victory of the century. Here was a concatenation of everything the American people want to be proud of: leadership, morale, intelligence, technology. All of them came together to give us a victory over the fourth largest army in the world at a price of 79 dead. General Schwarzkopf was eloquent in saying that the death of a single soldier is tragic, but he was realistic in insisting that the statistical record is also relevant. To engage in such a venture as we did with 79 deaths, fewer than the deaths we suffer in a typical day on the road in America, is a triumphant achievement.

But there was one cloud over Vietnam that didn't hang over us in the Gulf. It was, though not likely, contingently possible that the Vietnam challenge skirted a world war in which two forces might engage against us, each with an arsenal of nuclear weapons. We know now that LBJ's fears were unfounded: that, in fact, China's rivalry with the Soviet Union was more important in its calculations than its rivalry with the bourgeois imperialist U.S.A. In the Gulf, notwithstanding the exhibitionistic cancan by Gorbachev during the final hours, it was never conceivable that a nuclear power would stand in our way.

Vietnam to one side, we accomplished something widely thought inconceivable in the modern age, namely swift, economical, effective action. Saddam Hussein was the primordial aggressor. If he hadn't been stopped, he would either have marched against Saudi Arabia, or else satisfied himself with satellizing the Saudis, with the end in mind of extortion against the oil-consuming world, which is to say, everybody this side of Hottentotism. Collateral gains were achieved. The division in the Arab camp is of fundamental strategic importance. Progress on the Palestinian question cannot be put off. The imperative that worldwide attention be given to stopping the hydra-headed traffic in arms beckons as never before. The idea of democracy within Islamic confines suddenly seems vaguely possible. The SDI program is reborn. The supercilious disdain for the uses of the Pentagon is, at least for the time being, behind us. As someone wryly put it, we have justified the $600 toilet seat.



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Yes, the joy is, at least for the moment, properly unconfined. But the memory brings mischievous recollections, of the kind that remind us that, after all is said and done, human nature has not changed. One recalls Richard Nixon, freshly inaugurated as 37th President of the United States, arriving at one of the inaugural balls, where Guy Lombardo and his Royal Canadians are playing. And Mr. Nixon says: "Guy, Pat and I heard you play on V-J Day when we were in Times Square. And I just want to tell you, I hope to hear you play at the end of the next world war." □

A Deal With the Saudis

NEW YORK, MARCH 4

Over the weekend, an editorial writer expressing reservations about the longevity of Saudi gratitude wrote that oil prices will not rise significantly "for a year or so." The writer tacitly acknowledges that how much we pay for oil is pretty much a decision of the government of Saudi Arabia. This is generally conceded. With Saudi cooperation, OPEC cannot fail; without it, OPEC cannot succeed.

In the past six months I have devoted this space six times to making the case for an agreement with the Saudis designed to look to the future. We should remind ourselves that we went to war against Iraq not only because it had committed an act of aggression against Kuwait—we are very choosy about those aggressive wars against which we contend, as any Afghan will tell you. We went to war in part to react against the Iraqi invasion, but primarily to stand in the way of an invasion of Saudi Arabia. Controlling, as he then would have done, Iraqi oil, Kuwaiti oil, and Saudi oil, Saddam would have had his hands on the faucets of 43 per cent of the world's oil reserves. If that had happened, the industrial democracies would have become economic satellites.

So far as we know, neither Mr. Bush nor Secretary Baker made a deal with the Saudis. We have been anxious, throughout Desert Storm, to demonstrate that our intentions in the area are not self-serving. This was a mistake. If

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we are going to send a half-million soldiers and spend $77 billion on a military mission, it certainly ought to be self-serving. But in serving ourselves, we have been serving others. It would have been quite wrong to ask the Saudis to sell their oil to the United States at twenty dollars while making it available to other countries for thirty dollars. Self-service of that kind was not contemplated and ought not to have been. But to ask the Saudis to commit to twenty-dollar oil for the next ten years would mean a boon to all oil-consuming countries. A boon to the industrial nations that depend so much on oil, a boon to the Third World, whose struggle with penury succeeds, or doesn't, with some reference to the cost of energy.

Now Mr. Bush may feel it is ungentlemanly to choose this moment to make a deal with the Saudis. But if he doesn't choose this moment, it will become harder and harder to do, as the memory fades (memory always fades: it was 22 years between our liberation of France and France's withdrawal from NATO). In the Saudi imagination, every day that goes by will minimize the American contribution, magnifying the Saudis'. Indeed the utter collapse of the Iraqi military is no doubt already stimulating vainglory in coalition partners who in due course may wonder out loud whether the United States contingent was absolutely necessary.

The approach should be entirely straightforward. And it should be based on the anti-social, aggressive character of cartel pricing. The deposits of oil sprinkled about the world by random geological providence are correctly thought of as owned by people, companies, and nations, according to conventional arrangements. But to say that a nation can do anything it likes with the oil it sits on is on the order of saying that we can do anything we like with the air above us. It is a fanatical extension of the idea of private property to extend that franchise to the right to deny others access, on free-market terms, to those deposits. Oliver Wendell Holmes once defined a fanatic as the houseowner who extends the undisputed sovereignty over the air immediately above his house, to a shaft of air extending into the heavens, such as to deny a child's kite the right to soar through the air above that house. In this sense, oil is properly deemed a social, universal resource, like Canadian water, or the Gulf Stream. Having made the public point, that it is an act of economic aggression to price oil higher than the market price acknowledges, Mr. Bush should emerge from his encounter as defender of an important plank of the new world order. □

The Case For Gorbachev

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 22

Q: Why did you say it was so important to the United States that Gorbachev remain in power?

A: Because it is Gorbachev who brought about *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the two foundation stones of the New Russia.

Q: But even if that were true—there were other factors, of course—Gorbachev is now restricting reform rather than encouraging it, isn't he?

A: Well of course he has difficulties. There are the conservatives in the Kremlin who wish they could have back the good old days.

Q: But these conservatives, as you call them, are in fact governing Russia, aren't they? I mean, there is bloodletting of the old, Hungary/Czechoslovakia style in the Baltics, restrictions are increasing, the armies remain in Eastern Europe, arms reduction is stalled. Doesn't this mean the conservatives are really in control?

A: Well, there is no doubt they have considerable influence—the *nomenklatura*, the KGB, the military—but I ask you to imagine how much worse off the Soviet Union would be without Gorbachev. . . . Well? What are you doing?

Q: I am imagining.

A: I hope you are not permitting yourself to say that things in the Soviet Union weren't worse in the old days.

Q: No no, of course they were worse in the old days. But you asked me another question. You asked whether things would be worse if Gorbachev were to lose power, and I am not sure they would be. The fact of it is that he is not the foundation on which Moderate Russia rests. If he were to disappear, perhaps the military–industrial complex would prevail, perhaps it would not. If it did, it would face a hostile world, and hostility within the Soviet Union; if it did not, then the liberalization of Russia could proceed.

A: But of course we'd be much worse off if the military took control and went back to its old ways.

Q: Assuming that the military *could* go back, i.e., assuming the Soviet Union could overcome its economic distress, the separatist tendencies of its republics, the forfeiture of the loyalty of its entire intellectual class—assuming all of that, we'd be back to a cold war, with the difference that Eastern Europe is irretrievably liberated, and the Warsaw Pact is demolished. Couldn't we get on in such a world, pending the overthrow of Soviet tyranny? Is it any different from what we are coexisting with in China?

A: The fact of it is that Gorbachev is a reformer—

Q: *Was* a reformer. Lenin at one point was a reformer. So was Khrushchev. Gorbachev is a canny politician, an opportunist; and, supremely, a competitor, as witness his recent maneuver in the Gulf, indulging the venerable addiction of the Soviet government to making trouble where it can make trouble. Isn't your problem the conventional problem of the bureaucrat who simply doesn't want to imagine an alternative to existing arrangements?

A: Certainly not. But we don't want to see a stretch of Europe seven thousand miles long convulsed by civil wars and instability, do we?

Q: Why not?

A: You can't be serious.

Q: I'm trying very hard to be serious. I am asking the question: In what way does it hurt the United States for the Soviet Union to suffer from instability?

A: Instability plus 12,000 nuclear warheads is hardly in the best interests of the United States.

Q: I don't see why those warheads would be any more tempting than they were in the stable days of Brezhnev and Andropov. Of what use are those warheads to anyone in the Soviet Union save as weapons with which to threaten potential aggressors? I am not suggesting we threaten the Soviet Union. But if there is to be civil war in which one party is insisting that a commonwealth cannot endure one part free one part slave, should we be distressed that such a point is made by Russian elements insisting on freedom?

A: You can't take old saws fashioned at the time of our own civil war and apply them to the nuclear age—

Q: Why? And anyway, remember that we lost 16 per cent of our population in the Civil War. No one is yet suggesting that a Soviet civil war would result in 46 million deaths. But if it were to do so, apart from our regretting violent death because we regret violent death, how is this a strategic concern of ours—especially if one party to the struggle within the Soviet Union represented the forces of liberty?

A: It is impossible to argue with you.

Q: No. It's impossible for *you* to argue with me. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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OFF THE RECORD

Money Talks. Readers may remember Cato's report earlier this year that the Republican National Committee was several million dollars in the hole and scrambling to come up with cash. For that remark we were spanked sharply by the RNC's Mary Matalin in a letter published last issue.

Cato's sources insist we were on target. And the RNC now lists disbursements for January at $3,512,939.24, a hefty sum to spend in a month with no campaigns and little political activity. Was the RNC just stocking up on paper clips, or was it catching up on some big unacknowledged bills?

Remember Riga. Mikhail Gorbachev might be *Time*'s Man of the Decade, but in Latvia they tend to think of him in much the same terms as Stalin, who annexed the Baltic states in 1940. Distrust has run especially high since January 20, when Soviet Interior Ministry troops known as the Black Berets attacked the Latvian Interior Ministry in Riga. Four people were killed in the firefight and shots were also fired at a nearby hotel where Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs was meeting a Polish delegation. A few hours later, the Black Berets inexplicably abandoned the building.

The Black Berets claim they had just come to lodge a peaceful complaint when they were fired upon. There *were* snipers on nearby rooftops, but the Latvians say the snipers were KGB agents out to induce the attack. Others claim the Black Berets were in on this themselves, since they had earlier set up a machine-gun nest across from the building and a flare was sent up at the beginning of the fight—presumably a signal to begin. They note that no Black Berets were killed: left dead were two Latvian guards and two Latvian film producers who work with Juris Podnieks, an internationally known filmmaker who has produced several documentaries on the dark side of Soviet life. The fact that no other buildings were attacked lends credence to the argument that the incident was concocted to cover an execution.

People Politics. The Bush Administration is poised to reverse the U.S. position on population control established under President Reagan, which holds that people are an economic resource and that problems such as famine are caused not by "overpopulation" but by inferior politico-economic systems (i.e., socialism). Michael Deland, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, has agreed to demands by the people-are-hazardous crowd that his agency put population on the agenda for the UN's 1992 Conference on Environment and Development. A recent Zero Population Growth newsletter says Deland shared with them "draft plans" for the U.S. pre-conference report that include a chapter on the impact of population on the environment.

The agency chiefly responsible for writing that chapter is another obscure outfit, the State Department's Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs secretariat. This is run by renowned tree-hugger E. U. Curtis "Buff" Bohlen [see "Off the Record," July 23, 1990], who pleased the limits-to-growth folks at a January 29 meeting by agreeing that population and the environment are "cross-cutting issues." Malthus lives.

"I swiped the résumé from another guy—pretty slick, huh?"

Oooops. Democrats aren't the only ones who wish they'd never heard of Saddam Hussein. First there was Senator Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) explaining away earlier comments that Saddam's only problem was bad press. And now Senator Arlen Specter (R., Pa.), up for re-election in 1992 and vulnerable, is trying to distance himself from his talk about a kinder, gentler Saddam before the invasion of Kuwait. The senator met Saddam in Baghdad in January 1990, and on March 23 of that year sent a note to the Iraqi strongman along with a copy of a floor speech from the *Congressional Record* and a photograph of the two men, offering Saddam his "best wishes." Pennsylvania papers are beginning to notice that this was not a one-time shot: on at least five occasions before the August 2 invasion, Mr. Specter droned on in Congress at some length about his visit, at one point saying it was "apparent" that Iraq was "expressing a strong preference for diplomatic rather than military solutions." Maybe Specter should be working for Jim Baker.

Family Affair. When "the family" was not included on the list of topics at the upcoming policy retreat for House Republicans in Princeton (March 14–16), 23 congressmen led by Tom DeLay (Tex.) wrote retreat organizer Mickey Edwards (Okla.) to ask that "the most important issue for the Republican Party since 1980" be put high on the agenda. Cato hears that some in the GOP leadership were opposed, but that the potential for bad publicity, pressure from their letter-signing colleagues, and the willingness of GOP Research Committee Chairman Duncan Hunter to revamp his panel (now entitled "The Changing Face of America and the American Family") did the trick. So the House now plans to discuss the home. —CATO

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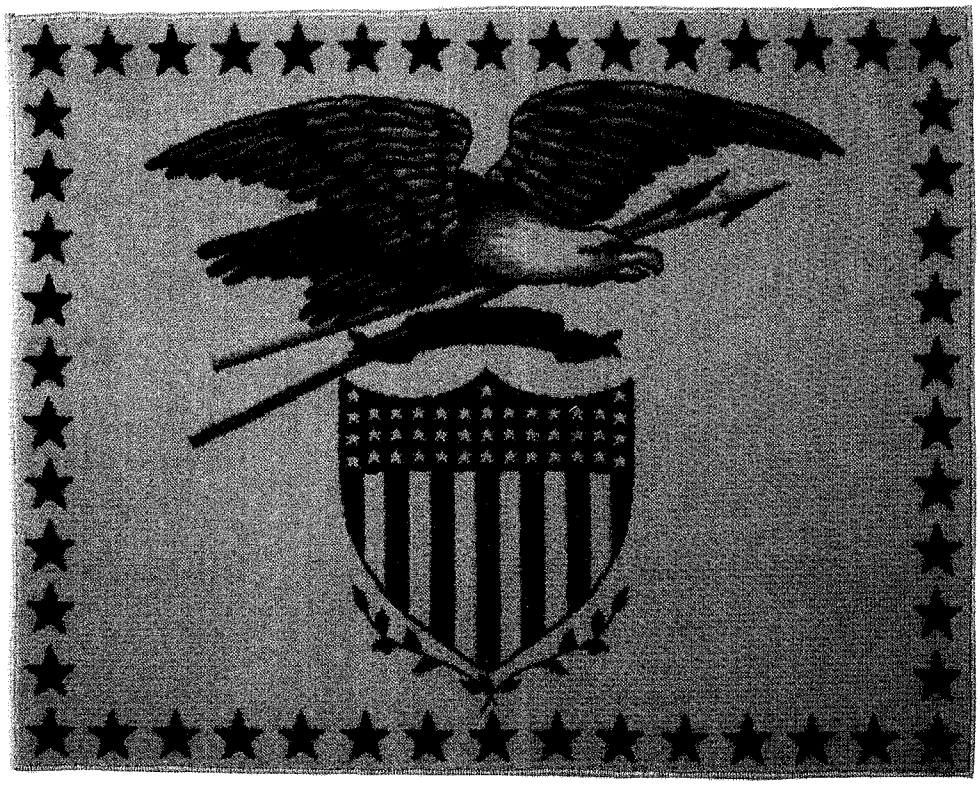

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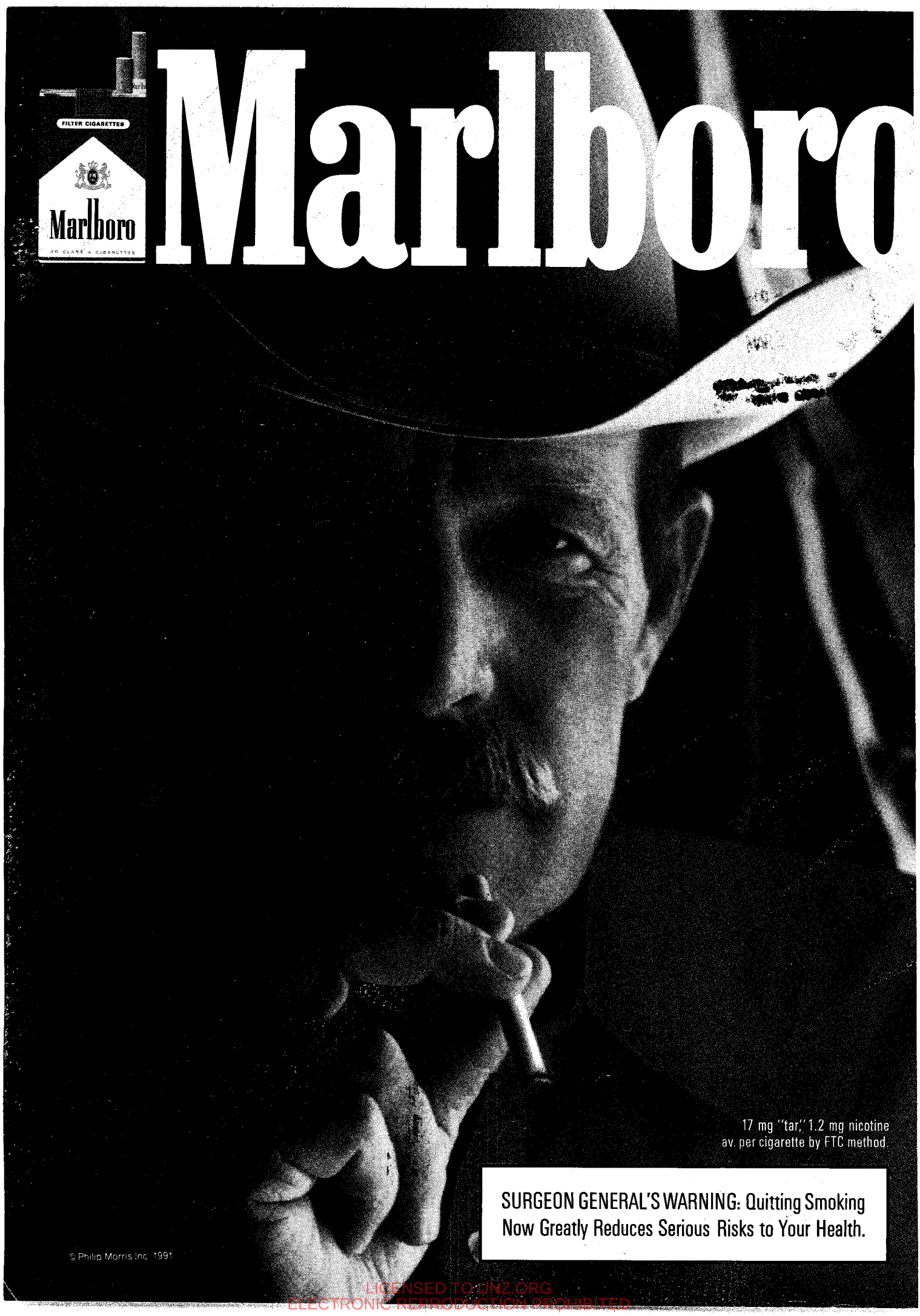
FILTER CIGARETTES
Marlboro
20 CLASS A CIGARETTES
Marlboro
17 mg "tar," 1.2 mg nicotine
av. per cigarette by FTC method
SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking
Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health.
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